

ANTI-CORRUPTION STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY CIVIL SOCIETY:  
CASE OF TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL - ZIMBABWE

BY

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AFRICA UNIVERSITY

(A UNITED METHODIST-RELATED INSTITUTION)

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN PEACE AND  
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## **Abstract**

This study seeks to establish the dynamics that surround civil society anti-corruption efforts; examine the strategies used by civil society in anti-corruption and assess the challenges faced by civil society in combating corruption. The researcher uses the case study of Transparency International Zimbabwe (TI-Z) and employs qualitative research methods to collect and analyse data towards realising the research objectives. The 2015 Annual State of Corruption Report estimates an annual financial loss of US\$1 billion to corruption for Zimbabwe since the year 2000. Unfortunately, many of the scandals that have been reported go unresolved as the cases end up un-prosecuted. Anti-corruption actors like the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission have been reported to be corrupt while civil society organisations have been suspected of being corrupt. Regardless, the country's Transparency International chapter has since 2001 been vested in exposing and condemning corrupt practices, creating awareness amongst the masses about corruption and its effects, empowering masses with the necessary tools to take a firm stance against corruption as well as protesting public policies considered unfavorable to public interest. This study is grounded on the concept of good governance which provides for participation of stakeholders such as civil society in public management through providing check and balances while creating a platform for the citizenry to voice their demands for socio-political accountability. This study reveals that these efforts to combat corruption have been hampered by weak institutional framework, lack of political will to fight graft, limited financial resources and apathy amongst the citizenry. This study concludes that for effective anti-graft in Zimbabwe, there is need for a strategic partnerships and harmonisation of anti-graft efforts by the respective actors in public, private sectors and civil society. The study also recommends among other things that Government prioritises enforcement of anti-graft laws as well as provision for conducive atmosphere for participation of relevant stakeholders towards corruption control and for TI-Z to widen its scope of fighting graft to include grand corruption in order to make corruption risky for all.

**Key Words:** Corruption, Anti-corruption, Civil Society, Governance

## **Declaration**

I declare that this dissertation is my original work except where sources have been cited and acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be submitted, to another university in the awarding of a degree.

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Student's Full Name

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Student's Signature (Date)

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Main Supervisor's Full Name

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Main Supervisor's Signature (Date)

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## **Dedication**

To that African girl child whose thirst for a formal education is but a luxurious far - fetched dream.



## **List of Abbreviations**

ADB	African Development Bank
ASCR	Annual State of Corruption Report
ACTSA	Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa
ACA	Anti-Corruption Agency
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
ALAC	Advocacy and Legal Advise Centre
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CS	Civil Society
CMA	Community Mobilization and Advocacy
CBD	Central Business District
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussion

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISS	Institute of Security Studies
ICT's	Information and Communications Technologies
JSC	Judicial Service Commission
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
MMCZ	Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe
NANGO	National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NOCZIM	National Oil Company of Zimbabwe
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NAYO	National Association of Youth Organisations
POSA	Public Order and Security Act

PPFA	Political Party Finance Act
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SMEs	Small to Medium Enterprises
TI	Transparency International
TI-Z	Transparency International –Zimbabwe
UN	United Nations
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against Corruption
VID	Vehicle Inspectorate Department
WVCF	War Veterans Compensation Fund
YTI	Youth for Transparency and Integrity
ZACC	Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front
ZIMRA	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority
ZNLWVA	Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZIMRA	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority

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## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

World over, communities are faced with a corruption pandemic which continues to deny millions access to justice and security. Although this is a challenge faced by all continents across the globe, Africa has been least able to bear the negative consequences due to extreme levels of poverty and its weak institutional framework. The high levels of corruption that plague developing countries continue to undermine growth and development as resources are diverted away from development programs leading to increased poverty, inequality, under development and evidently impacting service delivery (Obayelu, 2007). As Oyeboade (2001) asserts “If Africa fails to stop corruption, corruption is most likely going to stop Africa”.

The continent’s dark history of autocratic and unaccountable governments, as well as conflicts and crisis in many parts of the continent have posed particular challenges to governance and the fight against corruption in Africa (Afegbua and Adejuwon, 2012). Unfortunately, many parts of the region are particularly characterised by a proliferation of weak governance zones, where governments are unwilling or unable to assume their responsibilities in relation to public administration and protecting human rights (Agbazue, 2008). On paper, Africa has made great strides in fighting corruption, having signed global treaties and enacted anti-bribery legislation. These laws are enforced to varying degrees and with varying success. Since the dawn of the era of political

openness in Africa, external civil society groups have contributed to the fight against corruption on the continent. Their support has brought global visibility to national activists, as well as much-needed resources (Essoungou, 2013).

According to (Dryzek, 1996) civil society is both a means and an end. It is there to keep the state in check and influence policy. But, as a potential reservoir of civic values, it must be kept alive to provide room for those ideas and interests that are not being incorporated by the state. Civil society is needed, therefore, to cater for those whose place is not reserved at the state table. Owing to this, authors of the Associational School of thought are optimistic about the opportunity that civil society has to make a difference in democracy and development by standing between the people and the legislature to mediate the citizens' interests with the state (Armstrong, 2011). This is with the assumption that active civil society can make a difference by creating spaces for citizen participation needed for the organisation and functioning of development activities, communication of information and ideas while encouraging vigilance to guard against abuse of power by its bearers.

As Evans (1999, pp. 1) defines it, corruption is “the act by which ‘insiders’ profit at the expense of ‘outsiders’”. As has been evidenced in most corruption scandals, power bearers and person that have been entrusted with authority and are usually a minority section of the populace have been seen to be “insiders” while the persons that the power holders are expected to serve (the lay man) are seemingly the “outsiders”. This conveys

the belief that corruption is all about division of classes and thus creating asymmetries when separating the privileged (the ‘insiders’) from the underprivileged (the ‘outsiders’). But regardless of how corruption manifests, it is a violation of human rights as those who cannot afford paying bribes are sometimes excluded from realizing their basic rights (Mutondoro, 2015). Its costs are not measured just in the amounts of money that are squandered or the stolen government resources, but in the absence of basic services that could have been provided with that money and would have certainly benefitted the lives of families and communities (UN Secretary General, 2012).

Due to the widespread corruption and the effects it has had on Zimbabwe’s socio – economic and political fabric, civil society has been reported to make interventions to avert the vice. As part of the Transparency International Global Movement against corruption, Transparency International Zimbabwe has since 2001, provided leadership for anti-corruption efforts in the country driven by the mandate to “combat corruption and prevent criminal activities arising from corruption so as to help build a world in which government politics business civil society and the daily lives of people are free of corruption because of the historic tendency and potential of corruption to undermine economic development; generate inequality and poverty foster political conflict and create global instability”.

Unfortunately, most of these anti-corruption initiatives have been associated with failure (Pasha, 2004) as there continue to be reports of rampant bribery and hefty swindling of

state resources. As cited by the (ASCR, 2015) , the Thabo Mbeki Report by the African Development Bank (ADB) and Global Financial Integrity of Illicit Financial flows for developing countries 2004-2013 released in December 2014 shows that Zimbabwe lost US\$2.8 billion cumulatively over the period 2004 – 2013 through illicit financial flows, the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (MMCZ) 2014 and Fidelity Printers and Refiners 2015 indicted that the country is losing more than US\$50 million worth of gold every month through smuggling and an estimated US\$180 million worth of gold annually into neighboring countries. The 2015 Global Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International (TI) ranked Zimbabwe 150 out of 168 making it the most corrupt country in Southern Africa after Angola which ranks at 161 out of 168. The country's urban and local authorities have become notorious for poor service delivery and hyper corruption over the years (ZimForum, 2016) causing an estimated annual loss of US\$1 billion annually to corruption since the year 2000 and this does not take into account the estimated US\$15 billion Marange diamond loss (ASCR, 2015). Informed by the perspectives laid out above, this study delves into civil society strategies employed in corruption control using the case of TI – Zimbabwe.

## **1.2 Background of the Study**

This research traces the roots of corruption in Zimbabwe to the colonial times where colonialism set a culture of the bureaucratic corruption (Anjaria and Jonathan, 2011). During these times, public office was attained through favor or as a reward for one's loyalty to the settlers rather than on the basis of merit and qualification (Moyo, 2014).

This generated a culture of patronage and clientelism (Gatsheni 2009, 2011 and Tizor 2009) and the bureaucratic corruption that allowed corruption to thrive even after independence.

ASCR (2015) cites (Shana, 2006) who is of the view that from 1980 to 1987, the predominant forms of corruption were largely either opportunistic or driven by greed. He further states that the nature of corruption evolved during the 1997 – 2001 period into network corruption which involved highly-connected politicians and elites plundering national resources because of their status and class. Shana further argues that after 2002 to date corruption became systemic. Although (Anjaria and Jonathan, 2011) attributes the character of corruption to the colonial legacy, Shana's insights present it as an outcome of both colonial legacy as well as power dynamics in the post-independence Zimbabwean political economy.

According to Uneke (2010), the weak institutional structures adopted at independence gave the public officials almost unrestricted authority to intervene in the private economic activities and politicize the way public resources were allocated. This aided the emergence of corruption as a lucrative growth industry to those in positions of power. The table below lays out some select corruption scandals that Zimbabwe has experienced in past years. Evidently top government officials, opposition politicians and persons appointed by the president are implicated in all of them.

**Table 1 Select corruption scandals suffered by Zimbabwe**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Popular name</b>	<b>Year/period</b>	<b>Implicated Persons</b>	<b>Worth</b>
1	The War Victims Compensation Fund Scandal (WVCF)	late 1980s and 1990s	Senior government officials and their associates, relatives and friends	Z\$ 4,323,059
2	Constituency Development Fund (CDF)	2010	Ten Members of Parliament: Six hailing from ZANU PF and four from MDC-Tsvangirai (MDC-T)	US\$50,000
3	VIP Housing Scandal	1995	Government officials and politicians	\$12 million
4	National Oil Company of Zimbabwe	1999	Officials of NOCZIM	Each taking approximately Z\$238million

	(NOCZIM)			Z\$802 million
	Scandal			Z\$642million
				Respectively

*Source: Anti –corruption Trust of Southern Africa (ACT-Southern Africa, 2016)*

Corruption in Zimbabwe has resulted in a marked increase in levels of fiscal deficits and domestic indebtedness as central government has bailed out and taken over the debts of a number of parastatals including the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) through the Debt Assumption Act which saw the government assuming the RBZ's US\$1.4 billion debt. Consequently, according to the IMF (2016), total public domestic debt increased from US\$1,124 million in 2013 to US\$1,960 million in 2015. As a percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), total public domestic debt increased from 8.3 per cent in 2013 to 13.8 per cent in 2015.

Unfortunately, this has had the negative effect of crowding-out resources from the private sector. Debt repayment will also crowd resources away from social expenditures. There has been a reduction in government revenues as receipts from the sale of minerals have not been properly accounted for through the treasury. Government has also been prejudiced of significant revenues through the smuggling of commodities into the country. Which has resulted in an increase in the cost of services and a reduction in the quality of services rendered (ASCR, 2015).



In Zimbabwe corruption has influenced socio-economic and political development, the breakdown of good governance and democracy, and adversely affected the economic growth and reduced the resources available for the development of infrastructure, the public sector and anti-poverty programmes (Moyo, 2014). In an economy pervaded by high levels of government regulations, and low salaries, government employees devote some of their time and effort to assisting entrepreneurs in evading state laws and statutes in order to supplement their low salaries

Since independence, Zimbabwe has experienced a profound series of political and economic changes that pose analytical difficulties when carrying out a study on civil society. This is due to the fact that since 2000 strict operational rules were imposed against NGOs and CSOs operating in the country (Gumbo, 2002 and Ncube, 2010). According to According to London School of Economics" Centre for Civil Society (CCS),

“Civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors, and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power” (Moyo, 2014)

The oppressive tendencies and corrupt conduct of the ruling government, together with the negative impact of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank backed Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the early 1990s, led

some sections of CSOs to break away from the ruling party patronage, and contested their legitimacy (Shana, 2006). Unlike in the period between 1980 and early 1990s when CSOs were silent on the ruling government's corruption scandals, the period after this saw some CSOs beginning to act as watchdogs of the state and questioning the governments' corrupt conduct (Ncube 2010, DFID, 2012). It is this time that some CSOs begin to come out in open criticising the state.

Despite the strong economy, some CSOs remained recipients of international aid which angered the Zimbabwe state who accused the West of channeling the aid through civil society rather than through the state. However, the initial donors " motive for backing CSOs and NGOs was geared towards reforming the state institutions and promoting good governance and democracy rather than engineering a regime change (Moyo, 2014; DFID, 2012). Regardless as stated by (Uneke, 2010) the situation created an uneasy relationship between the state, civil society and development partners making it impossible for the sides to complement each other on governance issues and anti-corruption agenda in particular.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

There continue to be numerous reports of loss of financial, natural and human resource as a result of abuse of power by political elite across the political divide. The wider section of the population who in essence own these resources entrusting them to these power bearers with hopes receiving quality political goods are left disgruntled as they

too are forced into bribery in-order to easily access social services. This majority section of the population also face the threat of poverty as they live on less than a dollar a day, low life expectancy as a result of the poor standards of living among other things. Several strides towards combating corruption are seen to have been made by both the state and non-state actors through ratification of international and regional conventions and encouragement of civic awareness, participation and vigilance. Regardless of such efforts, cases of bribery and swindling of huge chunks of money have been on the rise. Some scholars have attributed systemic breakdown, lack of political will and poor strategy. Civil society is seen as a glimmer of hope and an opportunity for mobilisation of social capital towards countering corruption. In this regard, this research sought to study the strategies used by civil society in fighting corruption using the case study of TI-Z.

#### **1.4 Research objectives**

1. Establish the dynamics that surround civil society anti-corruption efforts.
2. Examine the strategies used by civil society in anti-corruption.
3. Assess the challenges faced by civil society in combating corruption.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What are the dynamics surrounding anti-corruption efforts?
2. What are the strategies used by civil society in anti-corruption?
3. What challenges are faced by civil society in anti-corruption?

## **1.6 Assumptions**

The ever growing corruption rates are an indication of failure of anti-graft strategies. The study therefore assumed that civil society which is in essence the political side of society mandated to demand socio-political accountability had fallen short in its contribution to countering graft through application of poor strategies.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

A study about Anti-Corruption strategies employed by civil society is of great relevance to the current socio-economic and political development and good governance in Zimbabwe. This research emphasises the importance of this research in understanding the opportunities and challenges civil society encounter in influencing Anti-Corruption agenda and policy. This research is therefore timely and relevant for the stakeholders that are working towards development of an effective anti-corruption framework for Zimbabwe.

It is envisaged that this research will serve as a theoretical and empirical framework for understanding and developing genuine and credible civil society as an instrument of development and governance in Zimbabwe since much policy effort at regional and international levels is increasingly diverted towards strengthening the civil society sector to be proactive and ensure that countries meet their developmental goals. Corruption is a major impediment to the achievement development, and civil society has a comparative advantage to succeed where the government has struggled in issues such as corruption (Moyo, 2014). This research therefore serves as a theoretical and empirical framework

for understanding and developing genuine and credible anti-corruption strategies as an instrument of sustainable development and good governance for Zimbabwe and countries with a similar socio-political fabric.

### **1.8 Delimitation of the research**

This study was delimited to Zimbabwe targeting TI-Z, its stakeholders in the public and private sectors as well as individuals residing within the TI-Z areas of operation. The study focused on anti-corruption strategies from the year 2001 when TI-Z started operations in Zimbabwe to date.

### **1.9 Limitations of the research**

There was unwillingness by officials' especially within the state circles to take part in the research. The Zimbabwe Republic Police felt that it was ably represented by the institution of government mandated to deal with corruption therefore referring the researcher to ZACC. On the other hand ZACC declined to participate in the research and did not give any reason for their decision. However, the researcher observed the interaction of ZACC officials with the subject under study through informal discussions and probing into the reason behind their hesitation to participate.

Many of the respondents approached to participate in the research were afraid of participating in focus group discussions (FGDs) or even sharing their opinions in the

study citing personal security concerns. Owing to this, the researcher was only able to convene 2 out of 5 focus group discussions; such political studies are usually received with skepticism. However the researcher assured the respondents that the study is purely for academic purposes and that their anonymity and confidentiality would be upheld.

## **CHAPTER 2      REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter reviews literature on corruption in Zimbabwe, particularly with regards to the role of civil society in reducing it. The chapter pays interest to the forms of corruption riddled in Zimbabwe and analyses this with respect to broader issues including public perception of corruption, economic issues, historical and political linkages. The chapter in brief posits that combating corruption is viewed as a developmental priority for Zimbabwe as it is viewed as an obstruction to development (Moyo, 2014)

### **2.2 Theoretical Frameworks**

#### **2.2.1    The concept of Good Governance**

In 1989 the World Bank bore the model of good governance after declaring that a crisis of governance was at the core of Africa's development problems (World Bank, 1989). Since then, good governance has become a mantra for donor agencies as conditionality for receipt of developmental aid. According to the IMF (1997), good governance concentrates on those aspects related to surveillance over macro-economic policies namely:- the transparency of government accounts, the effectiveness of public resource management, the stability and transparency of the economic and regulatory environment for private sector activity. The concept is further clarified by the World Bank as a process that consists of:

“A public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable, and an administration that is accountable to the public”  
(World Bank, 1989)

Issues to do with management of national resources and delivery of political goods and are sounding themes in corruption and anti-corruption have got everything to do with the type of governance. However, governance is not synonymous with government and therefore a public policy issue where there is a problem of governance becomes defined as a problem of government and the burden for resolving it rests with government. If governance is not about government then it becomes a question of how governments and other social organizations interact; how they relate to citizens; and how decisions are taken in a complex world (Graham; Bruce and Plumptre, 2003). According to (Camdessus, 1997), since a process is hard to observe, focus is then on the governance system or framework upon which the process rests - that is, the agreements, procedures, conventions or policies that define who gets power, how decisions are taken and how accountability is rendered.

Annan (1998) states that “good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development”(Collier and Dollar, 2001). Essentially, the ideal behind good governance is the accountability of systems and power bearers to the citizenry which has been believed to be detrimental to development. Policy-makers and development experts describe good governance as the missing link to successful growth and economic reform in developing countries with specific focus on economic processes and administrative efficiency. Effective



governance has therefore been thought to be central to human development allowing poor people and vulnerable persons to gain power through participation while protecting them from arbitrary, unaccountable actions in their lives by governments, multinational corporations and other forces (Malloch, 2002).

Proponents of the good governance see the incorporation of these principles as a means to economic growth and development. Graham, Bruce and Plumptre (2003) further state that in poorly governed countries, corrupt bureaucrats and politicians hinder development efforts by stealing aid contributions and public resource or by misdirecting them into unproductive activities. Therefore governments that are not accountable to their citizens have inefficient bureaucracies and weak institutions and are either unwilling or unable to formulate and implement pro-growth and pro-poor policies. UN (1998) cites, former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan noting that:-

‘good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development’ (UN, 1998).

Opponents of the ideal argue that imposing the good governance as aid conditionality for developing countries ignores institutional variation across well-governed states. They also have further argued that the definition of good governance is too ambiguous especially for development practitioners who need good concepts in-order to undertake measuring and assessing the quality of governance within and across countries; understanding the factors that influence the quality of governance in order to design evidence-based policy that promotes better governance; and analyzing the relationship

between good governance and various outcomes, such as economic growth. In essence, unless development practitioners can first identify what they are trying to measure, they cannot argue convincingly that they have measured it (Graham, Bruce and Plumptre, 2003).

### **2.2.2 Principles of Good Governance**

Governance provides for discussion into the role of government in coping with public issues and the contribution that other players may make. It opens one's mind to the possibility that groups in society other than government (e.g. citizenry or the civil society) may have to play a stronger role in addressing problems. Good governance assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Accordingly, the key dimensions of governance identified by (World Bank, 1992) are:-

**Public sector management** emphasizing the need for effective financial and human resource management through improved budgeting, accounting and reporting, and rooting out inefficiency particularly in public enterprises;

**Accountability in public services**, including effective accounting, auditing and decentralization, and generally making public officials responsible for their actions and responsive to needs of the citizenry;

**A predictable legal framework** with a reliable and independent judiciary and law enforcement mechanisms; and

**Availability of information and transparency** in order to enhance policy analysis, promote public debate and reduce the risk of corruption.

### **2.2.3 Relevance of the concept to the study**

The benchmarks laid out by the concept of good governance provide grounds for the study to legitimise the role that civil society is expected to play within the governance domain, the demands that the citizenry place on the state and the blame that the society places on the government for systemic failure, institutional weakness, poor accountability and transparency mechanisms including access to information. It also lays out a framework that helps with understanding the relations between the stakeholders of the anti-corruption process.

## **2.3 Zimbabwe's Corruption Control and Anti-Corruption Efforts**

There are different views on the objective for anti-corruption and in most cases might be misunderstood. To some, the objective is to eradicate corruption totally, while in other instances the objective is to reduce corruption to a reasonable or tolerable level while indirectly acknowledging that some level of corruption is acceptable or unavoidable (ACBF, 2007).

Sousa (2010), speaks to the evolution of corruption control and anti-corruption both of which he argues that have been guided by two contrasting rhetoric based on the disease

or the functionality of the phenomenon. Citing (Wraith and Simpkins, 1963 and Leff, 1964) Sousa reiterates the view point of the moralists, populists and do-gooders who take corruption as a sin, a disease, a cancer that must be wiped from the face of the earth, which usually ends with condemnation of corruption (Moyo, 2014).

On the other hand, there is the rhetoric of functionalists and relativists believing (without empirical evidence) that corruption can serve a social, economic and institutional purpose in societies in transition, oiling the wheels of the system, involving the masses in political life and increasing levels of development. These two viewpoints have informed anti-corruption debates and strategy over the years. However, (Kolstad, Fritz and O'Neil, 2008) argue that denouncing corruption exclusively because of its bad consequences makes the anti-corruption agenda vulnerable to partial – and possibly shifting – interpretations of empirical results.

Langseth (1999) posits that the most effective strategies against corruption can be obtained through the designing and development of self-regulatory systems which provide incentives for ethical behavior by avoiding corrupt practices through participation of all members of society. This requires the development of theoretical paradigms that will lead to the definition and recognition of clear cut rules of procedure values and behavior patterns that are pertinent to the urgency of the need to eradicate corruption for the common good. A combination of ethical and legal anti-corruption measures and an introduction of functional mechanisms that both suppress and protect

against corruption makes the ethical and legal procedures effective (Hills, Fiske and Mahmud 2009).

Zimbabwe faces major challenges of endemic corruption and a deeply entrenched party patronage system (Moyo, 2014). The country performed below the regional average in the 2015 Heritage Foundation Index of Economic Freedom, especially in terms of freedom from corruption scoring 21/100, and ranking among the lowest in the region. The World Economic Forum's 2014/2015 Global Competitiveness Index identified corruption as one of the five problematic factors for doing business in the country. In response to this, the country has embraced some policies and frameworks geared towards curbing corruption.

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) such as the TI-Z operating at national level have also been reported to be involved in a series of Anti-Corruption programs. These initiatives have led to the development of several anti-corruption instruments such as research and surveys that inform the public on the causes, nature, effects and possible steps to curb the pandemic. The fight against corruption has also seen the formation of the Ministry of State Enterprises, Anti-Monopolies and Anti-Corruption in 2004 and the creation of the 2011 Anti-Corruption Commission. In spite of these conventions and interventions, corruption scandals and reports are still high and this has been identified by several stakeholders including development partners, civil society actors and the citizenry as a major obstacle to growth and development for Zimbabwe.

## **2.4 Legal and Institutional Frameworks for Anti-corruption in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe is a signatory to a number of international conventions aimed at combating corruption and corruption-related offences. These include: the United Nations Convention against Corruption (ratified on 8 March 2007); the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (ratified on 12 December 2007); the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (acceded to on 20 July 1993); the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (ratified on 17 December 2006); and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol against Corruption (ratified on 8 October 2004). The country also has established an anti-corruption commission, the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC).

Zimbabwe's Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act provide also for criminal liability for corruption offences based on the following legislation, among others: Prevention of Corruption Act (1983), Ombudsperson Amendment Act (1984), Serious Offences (Confiscation Of Profits) Act (1990), Public Service Act (1995), Procurement Act (2001), Anti-Corruption Commission Act (2004), Criminal law (Codification and Reform) Act (2004), Bank Use Promotion and Suppression of Money Laundering Act (2004), Criminal Procedure and Evidence Amendment Act (2004), Public Finance Management Act (2010), The Money Laundering and Proceeds of Crime Act (2013).

In spite of existing anti-corruption legislation, the legal environment is generally not supportive, and corruption cases are often not pursued by the police. Furthermore, there are no effective legislative or administrative mechanisms to strengthen the integrity of the public sector (ISS, 2016). While investigative and auditing bodies exist, they are routinely subjected to undue influence and political pressure (Freedom House, 2012). As such, prosecutions of public officials for corruption are scarce and often suspected to be politically motivated.

In 2004 the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission was established, while the National Prosecuting Authority was brought into force by the passing of its bill into an Act in 2014. It also set forth responsibilities for public officers and civil service conduct. Oppressive laws that were in force in 2008, such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Political Party Finance Act (PPFA) remain on the statute books and pose limits on freedom of speech, association and assembly. The POSA criminalises statements which “incite or promote public disorder or violence” and the AIPPA restricts access to information held by public bodies (TI-Z, 2015). These laws have often been abused by the state to threaten civil society, activists and initiatives that pose a threat to the status quo thus limiting the space for transparency, participation, and accountability mechanisms (Mavhinga, 2013). On the other hand, the PPFA is construed as a hindrance to multi-party democracy, as it prohibits donations from Zimbabweans in the Diaspora and sets a comparatively high threshold for access to public funds (TI-Z, 2010).

### **2.4.1 Institutional framework**

Zimbabwe has a number of institutions that play a role in the fight against corruption. However, the resources and capacity of the institutions tasked with curbing corruption, especially the Anti-Corruption Commission, the police, the Department of Anti-Corruption and Anti-monopolies and the Department of Home Affairs, are limited and require special attention. This includes providing training and addressing the perception of mistrust in some criminal justice institutions.

### **2.3.2 Judiciary**

The reform or rebuilding of judicial institutions is often identified as a major priority in anti-corruption strategies. Judicial independence is seen as a necessary condition for the effective rule of law and is commonly understood to require independence from undue influence by non-judicial elements of Government or the State (UNODC, 2004).

In the past half-century the winds of democracy have swept through political systems rooting the ideal that those in power should not interfere in judicial matters. "Judicial independence" has meant independence from the executive branch, the principal seat of political power and the most centralized of the branches of government (Karlan, 1998) although in recent times the sources of power have stretched to include political parties and the media. Section 189 of the Zimbabwean constitution provides for judicial appointments by the Judicial Service Commission (JSC), but some members of the



commission are appointed by the president, giving way to executive influence (Karlan, 1998). TI-Z 2015 reported that the independence of the Supreme Court has come under question due to the haphazard gifting of justices with houses, cars, farmland, and other benefits (especially those with close ties to the ruling party).

(Toharia, 1999 and Zaffaroni, 1994) argue that, judges are human beings and, like their fellow citizens, they are unlikely to be politically neutral. It would seem desirable that they share in the broad political trends at work in their society. Becker, (1970) defines an independent judiciary as one that will be able to rule according to law, will safeguard individuals' fundamental rights, and thus will be genuinely impartial within the general guidelines of the law. He argues that independence resides in each judge. Therefore, the judiciary's power is rooted not in democracy but in legal ethics (Perdomo, 2000) as such if the judiciary's power is to be legitimate; it cannot appear to be one more arm of the political authority, however democratic the government. However, in Zimbabwe many still doubt the integrity and independence of the legal justice system due to the seeming interference of the Executive in the mandate of the Judiciary.

### **2.3.3 Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC)**

When societies around the world respond to corruption outbreaks, the approach of choice increasingly is to establish an anti-corruption agency. However the belief that once an anti-corruption agency is created, everything else will fall into place is patently untrue (Sousa, 2010; Meagher, 2007). Although national anti-corruption agencies can

be critical in preventing corruption before it becomes rampant, not only are they difficult to set up but they often fail to achieve their goals once they have been established (Pope and Vogl, 2000)

According to Sousa (2010) history has taught that success of anti-corruption activity calls for multi-pronged strategies, and a mixture of successes, failures with no quick fixes but a long and hard learning process. In 2005, Zimbabwe established the Zimbabwean Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) which is now provided for under Chap 13 Section 254 of the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe with the mandate of tackling corruption in its different forms (Section 255). Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2016 opines that ZACC has failed in its mandate to investigate corruption offences and its performance has been poor. The commission has since been at the center of criticism for its failure to curb corruption, its involvement in some of the major corruption scandals and for “being in bed” with the incumbency.

The success of an ACA also depends on its being carefully situated from the start within a set of well-defined supports which calls for it to have strong political and public support (Meagher, 2004). More specifically, the ACA will require a comprehensive anti-corruption strategy, careful planning and performance measurement, realistic expectations, and strong enough political backing to make it effective regardless of the (political and personal) consequences. This sort of preparedness for corruption control has been reported to be lacking for ZACC which according to (Global Integrity, 2011) is

highly inefficient, under-funded and has limited authority to effectively fulfill its mandate.

Sousa and Meagher attribute this supposed failure to the problematic tendency of states forming ACA's in response to demands from international donors and not out of genuine efforts to reform society. In such countries, policymakers ignore domestic demands for reform and enact minimal reforms to satisfy external agents. This minimum may be nothing more than the establishment of an anti-corruption commission, an office of the ombudsman, or an anti-fraud unit without enabling legislation, competent staff, or a budget. Having created offices to which they may point, and situating them in the presidency, policymakers may return to business as usual. In the worst cases, the commissions become tools to repress political rivals and members of the opposition or previous governments become targets of investigation (Sousa, 2010).

Where the ACA is not structurally independent, it can be no more powerful than its bureaucratic and political patrons. This may be very powerful or very weak, depending on the environment. An ACA's success depends largely on cooperative relationships with other elements of government. In a sense, this is strength, since it forces anti-corruption champions to achieve strategic consensus and to commit to concrete forms of cooperation, before moving forward. As such, Anti-corruption agencies are just an innovative institutional response to corruption and not an end in themselves. Organisational cultures and institutional development patterns differ from one country to

another which would explain why some ACA's capabilities have grown over time (e.g. Lithuania, Romania), others have been abolished (e.g. Italy, Portugal, South Africa); while others have remained shallow and unknown to the public at large (e.g. Malta, Mozambique) (Sousa, 2010).

The ZACC framework of operations has in place policies that guard against interference from the executive therefore giving an aura of independence. The committee of standing rules and orders nominates 12 persons to the President out of whom 8 persons are selected as members of the Commission. Although the process allows the public to participate directly through nomination of members to the Commission before submission to the President, the independence of the process is thrashed as the president has a final say on who becomes part of the Commission. This according to (OSISA, 2017) dilutes the public's input in the process and raises questions about the commissions' absolute independence from the Executive.

## **2.4 Philosophical Foundations of Civil Society**

The idea of civil society has undergone re-birth over time. During the age of enlightenment, civil society was seen to mean an equivalent of a state after which the meaning started to change positioning civil society as distinct from the state. Hobbes posits that the state arises from society and is needed to restrain conflict between individuals. In this respect, Locke states that there must be a social contract between rulers and ruled that respects the natural rights of individuals but also allows the state to

protect civil society from destructive conflict. He further emphasizes the need to limit state sovereignty in order to preserve individual freedoms derived from natural law. Tocqueville was alarmed not only by the prospect of a powerful state but also by the tyranny of the majority, and treated associations as the strongest bulwark against it capable of protecting and promoting the interest of individuals regardless of their socio-economic position (Hyden, 1997)

/Civil society is therefore interpreted as an arena or a type of political association whose members are subject to laws which ensure peaceful order & good government channeling the collective pursuits to serve the common goal of attaining a good society (Keane, 1988). The State, as a supreme power assumes the role of governing, enacting laws, and defining the common good. On the other hand, civil society is seen as opposed to a rude nation (Pietrzyk, 2001) and civil society believed that through governmental policies, education, gradual knowledge, and development, rude society might be transformed into civil society (Setianto, 2007). According to Plato, the ideal state is a society that is just and allows people to dedicate themselves to the common good and to practice civic virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation, and justice (Ehrenberg, 1999).

Accordingly, the main purpose of civil society is to force human beings to respect one another's rights (Setianto, 2007). As such, civil society is potentially a highly subversive space, an area where new norms and structures can seize the opportunity to challenge the

existing state order (Ncube, 2010). A strong and free civil society is necessary for situating the social movements that are called upon to defend society as a whole. Doig and Riley (1998) assert that it is important to recognize how different regimes create different conditions for the role that civil society plays. This is because, according to (Hyden, 1997), the way state-civil society relations are organized effectively shapes this role.

As such, civil society should not be seen only passively, as a network of institutions, but also actively, as the context and product of self-constituting collective actors (Cohen and Arato, 1992). It occupies the space reserved for the formation of demands (input) for the political system and to which the political system has the task of supplying answers (output) (Bobbio, 1989). As argued by the associational school of thought, according to Diamond (1994, 6), civil society acts to strengthen democracy by: 1) containing the power of the state through public scrutiny; 2) stimulating political participation by citizens; 3) developing such democratic norms as tolerance and compromise; 4) creating ways of articulating, aggregating, and representing interests outside of political parties, especially at the local level; 5) mitigating conflict through cross-cutting, or overlapping, interest; 6) recruiting and training political leaders; 7) questioning and reforming existing democratic institutions and procedures; and 8) disseminating information.

## **2.5 Civil Society Anti-corruption Strategies in Zimbabwe**

Civil society influences policy through providing checks and balances (Dryzek 1996). However within states that exhibit autocratic tendencies such as Zimbabwe (Shana, 2006), civil society efforts contributing towards behavioral and policy reform have been stifled because these entities are perceived to be anti-establishment. Kagoro (2005) states that relations between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe have always been contentious dating back to the Rhodesian era when the Ian Smith regime banned civic organisations that were advocating for democratic governance. This reinforces Ncube (2010)'s thinking that the current political economy of corruption and civil society – state relations are a colonial legacy.

Post-independence civil society in Zimbabwe continues to face legal restrictions imposed by government that have hindered their operations and in some cases challenged their programming. The passing of the 2004 Non-Governmental Organisations Bill has seen recurring occurrences of intimidations and the state sponsored harassment of activists and the organizations of civil society (Moyo, 2014) especially those working in areas of human rights and good governance.

So while the civil society has been allowed existence, the narrowed political space has affected its functionality and contribution towards significant reduction of graft. Lack of political will and an unstable policy environment have also rendered Zimbabwe's anti-corruption strategy ineffective (ASCR 2015). It is safe to assume therefore that the

success of anti-graft strategies or the wider civil society agenda depends on collective efforts of the state and the political community which (Taylor, 1990) defines as the civil society.

In this respect, the state is a causal variable in the establishment of a well-functioning civil society. Hegel argues that the effectiveness of civil society as an “independent eye of society” depends on its organizational form (qtd. In Tocqueville, 1969). In emphasizing this thinking (Kopstein, 2008) suggests that civil society does not have to be either against or in support of the state, but depending on the context, it may also be apart from, in dialogue or partnership with, or even beyond the state. (Moyo, 2014) citing (Sibanda, 2007 and Khan, 1998), asserts that if efforts at monitoring the state are encouraged then this would contribute to the ultimate control of corruption.

A significant number of governance and human rights CSOs were born after the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) to fill the gap left behind by the retreating frontiers of the state (and this also meant extending the frontiers of civil society) and to deepen and widen democratic governance (Masunungure, 2015). To date, the National Association of NGOs (NANGO) directory has a membership of over 1000 NGO and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) but despite these robust numbers, civil society suffers from general weaknesses common to the sector across Africa as well as specific shortcomings that arise from Zimbabwe’s particular circumstances.



According to Masunungure, the two key challenges facing CSOs (outside unfavorable legal framework) are agenda setting and financing. CSOs face the challenge of freeing itself from opposition politics specifically the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and Movement for Democratic Change - Tsvangirayi (MDC-T) (Masunungure, 2015). The ability of civil society to position itself as neutral or impartial is key in mending its relationship with the state and allowing it to effectively deliver on its mandate. Secondly, civil society is also largely dependent on international donors which do not allow it autonomy when it comes to crafting its agenda (Masunungure, 2015). Although the cultural model of civil society theory cited by (Moyo, 2014) illustrates that the two realms the principal agent model refutes the thinking. The model asserts that the anti-graft fight is a collective effort and as such dependent on a mutually reinforcing relationship between the state and civil society.

The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) has repeatedly acknowledged corruption as a central concern but little has been done to enforce the necessary already existing policies. Institutional remedies have been uneven and according to (ISS, 2016) Zimbabwe's Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) has been an unmitigated disaster as it has been cited in several corruption scandals. In view of this, civil society is vested with building the institutional capacity of ZACC to deliver on its anti-corruption mandate.

The programmatic interventions are also geared towards strengthening the citizens' capacity to engage and participate effectively in anti-corruption strategies as it is their civic responsibility in a democratic society. The anti-corruption strategies embraced have to be citizen centered with an integration of both bottom-up citizen action and top-down policy action approach through strategic partnerships with likeminded actors.

All these strategies seek to contribute to reduced corruption through policy, legal and institutional reforms, people engagement, knowledge and information development and sharing (TI-Z, 2016, ASCR, 2015). In 2016, citizens' movements like #thisflag and #tjamuka joined efforts with mainstream civil society to demand for socio-political accountability by mounting pressure on the state to address corruption.

## **CHAPTER 3      METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1      Introduction**

The research intended establish individual and institutional perceptions regarding the mechanisms used by civil society in combating corruption using the case study of TI-Z. This called for the conduct of in-depth interviews with persons in key sectors relating to TI-Z anti-corruption strategy. It also necessitated the conduct of key informant interviews with persons deemed to have a day today interaction with broader anti-corruption strategy and TI-Z strategy in particular. These persons were drawn from TI-Z (Program heads) and the legal fraternity (specializing in Human Rights litigation). The need to indulge and pick perceptions of the ordinary citizenry who had interacted with TI-Z strategy and ordinary citizenry that are potential beneficiaries of anti-corruption strategy e the study to use focus group discussions held in Mutare area. The study also needed to get a feel of how communities interact with anti-corruption strategy within their daily lives. In order to realise this, the researcher utilised the method of participant observation of citizen engagements in Mutare and Harare. The flowing sections elaborate the design, data collection methods and ethical considerations that were used in the realization of the objectives of the research.

### **3.2 The Research Design**

This research employed a qualitative approach of data collection utilizing, semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews, documentary analysis, Focus Group Discussions and Observation of meetings and citizens fora. The method allowed the research to collect data from different sources was vital for triangulating data collected through interviews and data from document evidence. The research used a case study approach on TI-Z. The researcher collected views of the national office observed national fora in Harare and other community engagements within Mutare.

### **3.3 Population and Sampling**

The population for this study was 2385 persons comprising of TI-Z officials, Accountability Monitors, Young persons under the Youth Transparency Integrity Clubs, technical persons managing anti-corruption initiatives in ZRP, ZACC, and Academia among others. However, the study reached a total of 242 participants from the AMC, YTI's, TI-Z, Ministry of SME's, Human Right litigation, beneficiaries of ALAC and the ordinary citizens.

Two focus group discussions were held with participants drawn from Mutare Central Business District and Sakubva Flea Market area and they hosted 6 persons each. The researcher observed three citizens' engagements on issues to do with Human Rights and Corruption organised by TI-Z hosting 30; 25 and 170 participants respectively.

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with two persons (One with an official from the Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises who are charged with legalizing and monitoring small to medium businesses in Zimbabwe and another with a Media person from Diamond FM given the unique role the media has part of broader civil society has to play in anti-corruption. The Key informant interviews were held with a Programs Officer from TI-Z Harare; the Regional coordinator for the TI-Z Manicalanad province and a Human Rights Lawyer from Maunga Maanda and Associates.

The study enlisted majority male participation most of whom were of the age ranges (31-45 and 46+) and having majority secondary and university education. Most of the female that made up 44% of the population were of age groups (below 30 and 46+) and represented 72% of secondary education level participants. 73% of the participants saw Zimbabwe's independence and had lived through the cycles that the literature in chapter 2 of this study has attributed corruption to including the colonial legacy, the DRC war, ESAP and inflation among other things. The study assumes that these facts provided a basis for a balanced perspective to the research.

### **3.4 Data Collection Methods / Instruments**

(Bryman, 2008) defines data as “information obtained during the course of an investigation or study”. While (Thody, 2006) define data collection instruments as devices used to collect data such as unstructured interview schedules and checklists among others. In this study, semi structured interview guides, in-depth interviews,

participant observation, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used to obtain data relevant to the study's objectives and research questions.

#### **3.4.1 Semi-structured Interview guides**

The study designed a set of pre-questions that were presented to some of the respondents with the intention of collecting the unbiased opinion on the study and this allowed for an elaborate in-depth discussion on the study by all respondents participating in Key Informant Interviews, In-depth Interviews and FGD's.

According to (Schwandt, 2007) semi structured interview guides are prepared pre-data collection, so as for the researcher to guide the interview towards the satisfaction of research objectives but the guide gives an opening for additional questions to be added or asked during the interviews.

#### **3.4.2 In-depth Interviews**

The researcher conducted these in-depth interviews with an official from the ministry of small to medium enterprises and a media person from Diamond FM. These respondents were selected purposively wing to their first hand interaction with the implementation of civil society initiatives geared towards anti-corruption. These interviews were important because they gave the respondent the opportunity to provide detailed information about the study. These discussions were guided by a semi-structured interview guide.

### **3.4.3 Key informant interviews**

The study used these to gather information from officials from two TI-Z officials and a Human Rights Lawyer regarding needs, demands and opportunities in coordination of anti-corruption activities by civil society. These interviews were guided by semi-structured questions which provided an opportunity for free exchange of views in a more relaxed environment. Where necessary, follow up was made with the key informants to cross check information as well as get alternative view points on certain issues. For all the relevant aspects that were not covered in the session, the researcher went back to the key informant.

### **3.4.4 Participant observation**

The researcher observed 3 citizens engagements on issues of human rights and corruption. The deliberations and sentiments of the participants of these fora informed the findings of the research. The researcher became an active participant in the activities which in turn presented better access to relevant processes and practices towards attaining the objectives of the study.

Flick, 2009 defines participant observation as the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day today or routine activities of participants in the research setting. Participation includes talking to members of the field informally as part of the observation process or in other forms of interviews as part of the observation process or in other forms of interview separate from the observational and addition to it.

### **3.4.5 Focus Group Discussions**

Two focus group discussions were held with six people each from Sakubva and Mutare CBD. The participants comprised of beneficiaries and ordinary citizens who are potential beneficiaries of anti-corruption strategy. This platform allowed the participants to share deep insights about the study in a more comfortable and relaxed environment. The discussions aimed at picking thoughts on the corruption and anti-corruption environment, their personal experience with corruption and its prevention, their experience and engagement with TI-Z, recommendations among other things.

These refer to small number of individuals brought together as a discussion or resource group to discuss collectively their sphere of life. The disagreements will do more to lift the veils covering the sphere of life. Corrections by the group concerning views that are not correct or not socially share or extreme are available as a means of validating statements. Therefore according to (Holliday, 2007) any group discussion maybe called a focus group as long she researcher is actually encouraging of an attentive to the group interaction.

### **3.4.6 Media and Text Sources**

The study used magazines, interviews, letters to editors, public information documents, documentaries, leaflets, speeches and news footage for this study According to (Flick, 2009) Resources referred to as archival which include but are not limited to. This



allowed the study to compare and contrast the various ways in which the same issue has been dealt with by a variety of sources and the rhetorical devices that have been use by each one. To address the issue of reliability and validity of this data, triangulation will be used.

### **3.5 Data Collection Procedure**

Primary data was collected through interviews, discussions, surveys, documentary analysis and observation. Published and unpublished documents served as both primary and secondary sources of data.

As primary sources of information, running documents such as speeches by politicians, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), official records, policy papers, pamphlets and manuscripts, news from mass media sector and other mass media material such as newspapers played a major role in this research.

There was use of semi structured interview guides to conduct face to face in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group interview guide. The choice of semi structured guides was because they have predetermined questions which can be reworded, modified, clarified to the respondent, or left out if suitable to do so (Holliday, 2007)

### **3.7 Data analysis and organisation**

Flick (2009) defines data analysis in qualitative studies as “the interpretation and classification of linguistic or visual material with the following aims: to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions; structures of meaning making and what is represented in it. Meaning making can refer to subjective or social meanings. Often qualitative data analysis combines rough analysis of material (overviews, condensation, summaries) with detailed analysis (development of categories or hermeneutic interpretations). Often the final aim is to arrive at statements that can be generalized in one way or another by comparing various materials or various texts or several cases”.

However before analyzing data, the researcher first recorded what was said in the interviews and FGDs. The researcher also took notes of what was observed in the field. The researcher then transcribed and edited what was said and observed. After this the researcher coded the questionnaires and organizes files in order to keep track of them. The filing took seriously issues of anonymity and data protection.

In as far as Transcription is concerned; the study gave a detailed written account of the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. This transcribing took into account what was said and the way it was said. The study used code names to indicate who was speaking.

### **3.7.1 Triangulation**

The study used triangulation to assess the reliability and validity of assumptions and outcomes from a number of standpoints. Triangulation refers to the combination of different methods study groups local and temporal settings and different theoretical perspectives in dealing with a phenomenon. Triangulation is first conceptualized as a strategy for validating results obtained with individual methods. The focus however shifted increasingly towards further enriching and completing knowledge transgressing the always limited epistemological potential of the individual method (Flick, 2009). Triangulation can also be used for confirm results, validate results and procedures increasing the scope depth and consistency in the methodological proceedings and putting the findings on a more solid foundation.

The selection of a sample from Mutare and Harare was meant to facilitate the comparison of feedback by way of triangulation. The findings from Mutare were cross-referenced with those from Harare and from both locations' respondents bore the same characteristics save for their location.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

Research ethics is concerned with the procedures that should be applied for protecting those who participate in the research (Mauthner, 2002). As such, the codes of ethics are formulated to regulate the relations of the researcher to the people and fields they intend

to study. The principles of research ethics require the researcher to avoid harming participants involved in the process by respecting and taking into account their needs and interests. For the case of this study the researcher heeded to the ethics stipulated below.

**Informed Consent:** - This implies that subjects know and understand the risks and benefits of participation in the research (Flick, 2009). They must also understand their participation is completely voluntary. The participants should agree to participate in the basis of the information given to them by the researcher. General rule for participation in sociological investigation is that it is voluntary and that it takes place on the basis of the fullest possible information about the goals and methods of the particular piece of research. The principle of informed consent cannot always be applied in practice for instance if comprehensive pre-informant is given then it would distort the results of the research in an unjustifiable way. In such cases an attempt must be made to use other possible means of informed consent (Schwandt, 2007)

**Ethics Committees:** - These are established to ensure ethical standards. The committees' examine the research design and methods before they can be applied. In these fields, good ethical practice in research is then based on two conditions. That the researcher will conduct their research in accordance with ethical codes and research proposals have been reviewed by the ethics committees for their ethical soundness, Scientific Quality, Welfare of participants and respect for the dignity and rights of participants (Flick, 2009) .

**Scientific quality:** - Under this criterion research which is only duplicating existing research or which does not have the quality to contribute new knowledge to the existing knowledge can be seen as unethical.

**Welfare of participants:** - Under this context the researcher is expected to weigh the risks for the participants against the benefits of new knowledge and insights about a problem or of finding a new solution to an existing problem.

**Dignity and rights of the participants:** - This aspect is linked to consent given by the participant to sufficient and adequate information provided as a basis for giving that consent and that the consent is given voluntarily (Walliman, 2011).

Beyond this, the researchers need to guarantee the participants confidentiality that the information about them will be used only in such a way that it is impossible for other people to identify the participants or for any institution to use it against the interest of the participant. Therefore, owing to the nature of the study, confidentiality of participants was considered and the researcher got permission to conduct this study from each individual member of the communities involved in this study. Furthermore, participation in the study and input of participants was voluntary, and all participants were informed about the nature of the study.

### **3.9 Chapter summary**

This chapter outlined the research methodology used in this study in order to attain the requisite information towards achieving the research objectives. The next chapter presents an analysis; discussion and interpretation of data collected using the methods laid out in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER 4 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents an analysis of findings from the data collection process with respect to civil society anti-corruption strategies using a case study of TI-Z. The section provides an interpretation of the opinions and responses of participants who took part in focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and key informant interviews. Other opinions provided by the researcher under this section stem from participant observation of trainings and citizens engagement forums conducted by TI-Z.

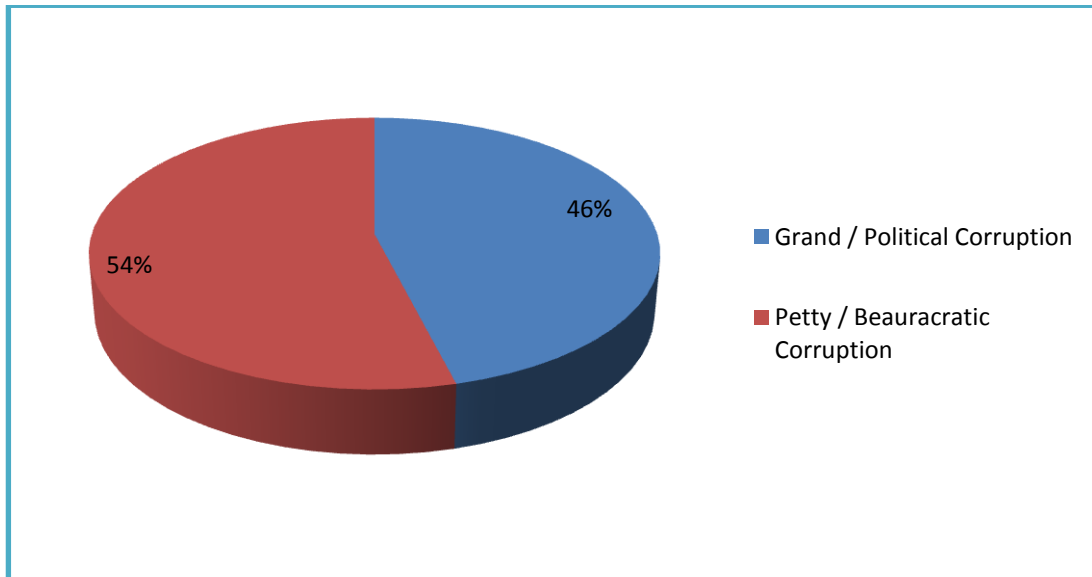
The researcher presents the section in a format guided by the themes under the research questions. As such this section gives a detailed account on findings of the dynamics surrounding civil society anti-corruption efforts in Zimbabwe including the forms of corruption that are prevalent in Zimbabwe; the researcher further presents and analyses data on the strategies used by civil society in anti-corruption. In the last section the researcher provides for the challenges facing ant civil society engaged in anti-corruption.

### **4.2 Forms of Corruption prevalent in Zimbabwe**

The research found that there are two major forms of corruption within Zimbabwe, namely; grand and petty corruption. Feedback from the respondents revealed that corruption exists in many forms and at various levels of administration with varying

degrees of acceptance by the population that has for long been subject to the corrupt institutions.

**Chart 1 Forms of corruption prevalent in Zimbabwe**



**Source: Based on report by Transparency International-Zimbabwe (2010)**

In its 2010 report, TI-Z indicated that the most common forms of corruption were grand and petty corruption, with the former having 46% and the later having 54%. This was also evidenced by the findings of this research in which most of the participants indicated that bribery by the ZRP at road blocks was the top most form of corruption faced in Zimbabwe. According the participants, this was followed in rank by the bribery within the education and health sector.

However, this view was contrasted by two female participants who fall in the 36-45 age range, who viewed embezzlement as the most common form. This demonstrated the



variations in the conceptualization of corruption by participants in different age ranges as those above 46years pointed that nepotism was the most common form of corruption. In a FGD, one female participant between the ages of 31-35 years with university education background reported that:-

The people that are supposed to help us are also corrupt. We have so much bribery going on that even for us motorists can't go 20km without finding at least five road blocks. You find that you are forced to pay a bribe if you want to access health services at some health centers, other people must bribe to get admission to schools and those that won't afford are left out of the system. Everything is so expensive lately and yet the income is still very low. (Focus Group Discussion One, Mutare CBD, on 8th February 2017)

Another male respondent with university level education and age range 31-35 also argued that Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) has been the most corrupt over the years owing to its dubious tendering processes. According to him, the granting of concessions to big business and foreign business has prejudiced the country of serious income and therefore harbored the biggest forms of corruption.

The sentiments shared by these participants is evidence of systemic corruption which is defined by (Johnston, 1997) as a situation where state and key institutions are dominated by corrupt individuals and/or groups, and in which many people have few practical alternatives to dealing with corrupt officials.

The study presumes that the variations in sentiments by the participants was influenced by their occupations and daily responsibilities. Persons within the private sector were

keener on ZIMRA and bribery by the Local council while persons susceptible to using public transport and owners of motorcade felt the road locks they meet made ZRP one of the most corrupt. Most females who interact about with the health sector complained about dubious charges they are forced to face in order to access medical services. Many persons within the age ranges of (46 and above) seemed too keen on nepotism because they attributed their challenges to unequal distribution of the national cake by the powers that be.

In an attempt to explain the cause of corruption, one male participant within the age group of (46 and above) and with secondary school education attributed the high levels of bribery to the low salaries given to civil servants which according to (Moyo, 2014) ranged between \$4,500 and \$4, 800 per annum in 2011 for nurses, police and teachers. However the study revealed that salaries are not the cause of the rampant corruption in Zimbabwe because the vice is perpetuated by those in high offices. Low salaries are just an incentive to partake in corruption (TI-Z, 2012) because the highest levels of corruption are amongst the ruling elite or top ranking and highly paid civil servants.

In the context of Zimbabwe, systemic corruption is so difficult to combat because it is embedded in a wider economic and political situation that sustains it. It occurs where bribery on a large scale is routine thus caused mainly by the inefficiency of the civil service, high demand for services and laxity in political and economic systems.

According to TI-Z officials spoken to, the stakes with grand corruption are very high because of the millions of dollars that are lost annually and not recovered. Byrne (2007) defines grand corruption as the type that is fueled by the top brass of politicians and state agents entrusted to make and enforce laws in the name of the people but rather use their authority to sustain their power, status and wealth.

As stated in Key Informant Interview 2, the Marange diamonds corruption scandal is an example of grand corruption where US\$15 billion worth of diamond resources disappeared into thin air and is yet to be accounted for. This informant further reiterated (Byrne, 2010)'s definition of grand corruption in stating that it is the misuse of public power by the heads of the state. In the same regard, 76% of the respondents most of whom were of the age range (31 – 35) concurred that grand corruption has had a bigger impact on Zimbabwe's economy compared to petty corruption.

Most respondents argued that the money that would have otherwise been invested in improving service delivery was ending up in people's pockets. The sentiment(s) from participants reveal that although petty corruption is more rampant and causes difficulty in doing business and accessing basic services; however despite of that the magnitude of impact resulting from loss of large sums of money in grand corruption has far-arching effects that threaten human security and human development in the long run.

Two male and one female participant(s) of age range (46 and above) emphasized that the 'top dogs' were benefiting from the poor through housing cooperatives and because they are within the top ranks of ZANU-PF they are not apprehended. In the same respect a

university level male FGD participant within the age range (36-45 emphasized that with grand corruption there is misallocation of resources and perversion in the way decisions are made.

Malin, (2014) maintains that grand corruption makes people more upset than petty corruption, because it is seen as connected to inequality. She argues that petty corruption is often seen as a system of which everyone is part, and therefore people do not judge each other's involvement in that type of corruption, while grand corruption benefits a few and therefore aggravates inequality, which upsets people. However, she emphasises that people still tend to think that petty corruption is wrong, while tolerating it because it is seen as unavoidable.

#### **4.2.1 Dynamics surrounding anti-corruption in Zimbabwe**

The research found that there are various forces surrounding anti-corruption in Zimbabwe. Among these, the legal environment, impunity and political will were the most mentioned. The respondents seemed to think that if corruption had been dealt with in its infant stages then a lot of damage would have been avoided. A male respondent of the age ranges (36-45) made the statement below with regard to the history of corruption and anti-corruption efforts in Zimbabwe.

“This thing crept up on us just like a frog. We ignored it and it is now overwhelming us. At a certain time we thought it was normal but now we are seeing the effects and it's something that we need to deal starting with elementary level. Like I said this thing crept up on us but we can't let the youngsters grow into it.” (In-depth Interview 1, on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

If social capital is to be raised to any national cause, it is vital for all persons involved or affected to be on the same page regarding how crucial the cause is. In this case, if all Zimbabweans are to participate in the curbing of corruption, they should believe that the cause is a priority concern. Against this background, the study sought views of respondents who said:

“There are no two ways about it; corruption is enemy number one in this country. It is not even political violence; it’s not even lack of jobs but corruption. It’s not even poverty. Poverty is corruption-induced because if we directed all the resources that we had towards the economy and nation building then we would be one of the richest countries in the world.” (Key Informant 3, on 15 February 2017)

All participants in the study were in agreement that corruption is a pandemic and priority concern for Zimbabwe which if not dealt with would further cripple the economy making human development and human security impossible for Zimbabweans. A female respondent with a secondary school education and of age group 30 and below indicated that if the citizenry allowed corruption to thrive then they were self-sabotaging themselves in terms of quality and access to basic needs and services let alone access to gainful employment. A male respondent with university education further stated that the same corruption is what has among other things reduced foreign investment in Zimbabwe.

A male respondent within the age group of (36-45) with a university degree added his voice to this saying that even the education sector has been affected in that the quality of students that are produced are not competitive in the global market. However, one female participant of ages (46 and above) with a secondary level education argued that the problem with Zimbabwe is that its people have lost hope in it. They have lost sight of the communal and national vision and are only struggling to get ahead individually not knowing that if all people join hands then it will benefit the entire Zimbabwean community. The research attributes the consensus on the inexplicable effects of corruption to the general standard of living of Zimbabwe. According to the National Association of Youth Organisations (NAYO), 90% of youths in the country are unemployed, with universities and colleges churning out graduates that fail to secure jobs (Newsday, 2016) while according to (Zimstat 2016), 96% of villagers were living on less than a dollar per day. This coupled with the increasing inequalities between the rich and the poor.

Following this, the researcher gathered participants' opinions about the future of corruption in Zimbabwe. 41% most of the participants whom were females and with a secondary school level education did not envisage a future where Zimbabwe will ever be corruption free. After probing further, one participant explained that corruption has now been sewn into the social fabric of not only Zimbabweans but Africans as a whole; it is now part of the political culture going as far as primary school where children believe that they have to spend in order to be elected into leadership.

59% of the participants comprising mostly of females with a university background and of ages (30 and below) with secondary level education believed that corruption will someday be totally curbed but with the condition that there is a merger of efforts towards anti-corruption by all stakeholders including citizenry, state and non-state actors. 96% of all participants' also agreed that if corruption is not stopped then it will cripple Zimbabwe. This sentiments show that people are aware of corruption and the extent of its effects on a nation and the economy. There was also a unanimous voice saying that something must be done about it.

However, a secondary education level male participant of the age group 46 and above raised a concern that, corruption is now within the system and everyone is part and parcel of it. A female participant of age group (30 years and below) with primary level education complemented this participants' thoughts saying that there is no one can claim to be clean enough to fight corruption because those who are supposed to fight corruption are also being cited as part of it.

This argument by the participants that corruption has become a way of life can be explained by the Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning theory which is based on the idea that we learn from our interactions with others in a social context. According to this theory, a culture is developed where people become corrupt just because the rest of society is doing the same. One participant's response however disputes this thinking that the citizenry are corrupt just because their contemporaries are corrupt. According to this

male participant with University education and below the age of 30, many Zimbabweans are corrupt simply because it reduces the cost of doing business and then increases the ease of doing business. It is therefore just a matter of morals and convenience.

However, a female participant of age range (46 and above) reiterated that Zimbabwe still faces a challenge of not including women in the decision making process. (Kurebwa, 2016) states that the exclusion of women from decision-making bodies has very negative consequences for development and that the representation and participation of women in decision-making bodies is an assurance that their issues will be dealt with better by both women's sex and gender roles. Accordingly, he emphasises that despite the commitment and the growing interest among women in taking part in the decision-making processes, women's representation and participation in local governance still remains very low in Zimbabwe. (Jayal, 2005) explains that the level of development of countries is now measured by the level of women's representation and participation in local governance. The research attributes negative perception of most women in relation to Zimbabwe someday realising zero levels of corruption to this low level of inclusiveness of women in the decision making process.

The researcher noted that regardless of the awareness amongst the respondents of the predominance of corruption, little effort is being made towards proactively contributing towards corruption control. Many of the respondents were skeptical about discussing corruption owing to personal security as the issue is deemed political. With assurances



of confidentiality and anonymity, some were persuaded to participate and share their views. The researcher then probed further to understand whether the citizens were aware of their role in anti-corruption and whether they were playing that role. The study in this section was interested in the experience of the common man with corruption and anti-corruption.

From the responses, it was evident that there is willingness to contribute to anti-corruption and the zeal to fall behind stakeholders that share in that desire to eradicate corruption. Merged efforts from other players like civil society create a buffer and a sense of security for the individuals. It is evident too that the lack of political will that is represented by the President protecting corrupt persons and ministers going free also contributes to apathy. The police victimizing the complainants and victims coupled with the courts failing to prosecute the perpetrators of crimes go to show that corruption is thriving due to weak institutions and impunity within the state. In relation to this a participant in a FGD reiterated that:

Top government officials and cronies of President Mugabe and ZANU-PF have gone scot free after embezzling billions of our hard earned resources. Even with the formation of ZACC you still find that the top officials are cited in the same corruption scandals. With this, my role as a citizen in fighting corruption is just a drop in the ocean (Participant at FGD 2, at Sakubva, on 17<sup>th</sup> February 2017).

The feedback by this respondent strengthens the argument by John Rawls in his theory of justice where he posits that some stakeholders of the anti-corruption process (in this case the citizenry) are not invested in playing their role just because they believe that

other stakeholders in the process are not genuinely delivering on their mandate. This coupled with the weak institutional framework makes it possible for laws not to be enforced and rules to be broken. This thinking is in line with a comment from a female respondent of age range (46 and above) with secondary level education who posited that people who refuse to take part in corruption are then alienated in a way from their societies.

The research also revealed that several actors including the state through the anti-corruption commission and civil society with the leadership of TI-Z have over the years invested resources in the curbing corruption through spreading the message of corruption intolerance. The effectiveness of civil society initiatives is dependent on the level of appreciation the beneficiaries (in this case are the citizens of Zimbabwe) have for the unique contribution that CS makes towards ensuring good governance and socio-economic accountability.

90% of the participants comprising mostly of secondary education level females believed that TI-Z has to some extent contributed to corruption control; 4% believed they had not contributed to corruption control while 6% comprising of age groups (30 and below) and (46 and above) held their opinion on the matter. According to a male respondent of age group (36-45) and diploma holder, CS has a day today interaction with communities. In the same spirit, a female participant of age group 30 and below and secondary education complemented this argument saying that the nature of work

that these groups are involved in allows them listen to people's problems and proffer solutions.

Citizens' empowerment is central to the drive of any developmental agenda including anti-corruption. The researcher attributes the appreciation of the efforts of TI-Z by the respondents to the capacity that has been built amongst them to be cognizant of the rights and responsibilities in as far as corruption is concerned.

A female respondent of age group (36-45) and with a university level education revealed in a FGD that the challenge has been that although TI-Z has seen many ZRP officials, local councilors, land barons, corrupt politicians being arrested, they were not brought before the courts of law. An official from TI-Z commented on this assertion explaining that impunity regarding cases of corruption is high in Zimbabwe. According to this official, there have been many cases where people have been arrested and before they are brought to the courts they are usually found innocent.

Two other female respondents' one of whom was between the ages 31-35 and of university level and another of ages 46 + with secondary level education concurred that:

“ TIZ is definitely contributing to the fight against corruption by having mobile clinics, giving people toll free numbers to report corruption immediately which has scared off some people from being corrupt.....They also train AMC Members in each community to actively monitor and report corruption.” (Focus Group Discussion 1, Mutare CBD on 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2017)

Key Informant One revealed that a vigilant citizenry is vital to the success of anti-corruption but most importantly he argued that this citizenry needed understand the context within which they are working which involves conceptualizing the origins and root causes of corruption helps the citizenry appreciate the efforts geared towards eradicating it.

In this regard a male participant of age range (46 and above) with secondary level education stated during a focus group discussion that the rampancy of corruption in Zimbabwe could be traced to the 1990's during the ESAP implementation when politicians and civil servants took advantage of the weak checks and balances to scrupulously accumulate wealth.

A university level male participant of age group (31-35) in one of the meetings observed by the researcher added his voice to the subject describing the late 80's and 90's as time in Zimbabwe when the undemocratic government rendered would be watch dogs of the state useless. He further argued that the red tape within state institutions at the time allowed public servants to siphon state resources without accounting for them.

In contradiction to the above opinions, a secondary level female FGD participant of age group (46 and above) cited the 1997 – 2000 war in DRC where Zimbabwe spent over 20 million Zimbabwean dollars per month. According to this participant, this is one other

major instance that cemented the culture of corruption in Zimbabwe because only a select group of people benefited from Zimbabwe's engagement with DRC – these were mostly top officials in the army or top notch politicians.

These assertions only go to reveal that liberation of political spaces for stakeholders to keep the power holders in check contributes to the entrenchment of government practices in the long run. In cases where there is laxity, the economy nurtures a political and moral culture that builds up to systemic failure.

Systemic failure is a fertile ground for structural violence which for the case of Zimbabwe is evident in what a college level male FGD participant of age group (30 years and below) referred to difficulty to access to basic services without some sort of bribery fee. Similarly, a secondary level female FGD participant of age group (31-35) shared that her dream of joining nursing school was cut short because she could not afford the sum of money to bribe her way into admission.

A secondary level male FGD participant of age group (30 and below) also stated that he failed to gain admission into a local teachers college because he failed to raise money to pay the bribe. Another university level female FGD participant of age group 36-45 reiterated that for one to get their child to a good primary school, they would have to pay a bribe to the school administrators. This according 76% of the participants comprising

mostly of female secondary level participants age group (35-46) and male university level participants of age groups (31 – 35; 36 – 45) was same case with medical services.

According to (Sithole, 2013) corruption reduces the effectiveness of public administration and obstructs the ability to use its available resources to progressively achieve the full realization of better service delivery. Women have been seen to suffer as corruption makes it difficult for some of them to access resources and services in order to sustain their lives as they are vulnerable to sexual extortion. Similarly, (Wafawarova, 2011) mentions that corruption has a negative impact on socio economic rights as it denies development and quality to the most vulnerable members of society. He also states that this is harmful in developing countries, which have fewer resources and these are more vulnerable if these resources are wasted or not used effectively and adequately.

According to Key Informant 2, under such circumstances where systemic failure is leading to abuse of human rights and compromising of human security civil society intervenes to demand and defend those rights. However, according to a university level male respondent of age group (46 and above), although civil society is vital to the anti-corruption and good governance trajectory, without political will, united front by other actors and social capital the efforts they employ will amount to little or nothing.

As reiterated by Key Informant 3, civil society in Zimbabwe works within a very narrow political space. He went on to explain that although civil society organizations like TI-Z have over time engaged both state and non-state actors but that subversive space for civil society is still not conducive forcing many likeminded organizations into self-censorship.

Hyden (1997) explains that the way state-civil society relations are organized has an effect on its role. 81% of the participants most of whom were male and having university and tertiary or college qualifications agreed that a positive or good relationship between the state and civil society propels success of anti-corruption while 11% did not believe that the nature of relationship between the two actors is a dependent variable in anti-corruption. 8% withheld their opinion.

The researcher's interaction with the state and non-state actors revealed that the relationship between state and civil society as very rusty. Informal conversations with ZACC officials revealed that they are very suspicious of the intentions and good will of civil society and vice versa. They do not trust civil society as a valuable strategic partner who can complement its efforts towards anti-corruption. Comments made during interaction by officials from both parties indicated suspicion about the motives of the researcher. The researcher seemed to be suspected by civil society as being a secret state agent and by the state as being used by civil society to discredit their efforts even despite of assurances that the study was purely academic.

Interviews with ZACC intended to focus on its functionality, relationship with other stakeholders and contentious independence from the Executive arm of Government. However, ZACC declined to participate in the study citing no reason for their decision. However, brief discussions held with officials at their offices revealed that there thinking that the reporting by TI-Z is biased and not credible. One of the officials stated that it is not the mandate of TI-Z to fight corruption while another felt that TI-Z is funding driven and therefore does work to impress donors instead of honestly reporting on the status quo. These interactions with ZACC demonstrated clear resentment towards TI-Z and a reluctance to work with the organisation. ZACC has been reported to lack the capacity to curb corruption due to funding constrains, lack to of adequate human resource, lack of independence due to interference from the executive arm of government – call of which have affected the trust of the citizenry towards it. In response to this, TI-Z argued that the international community plays a vital role in its operations through provision of funding and technical expertise which is the reason behind the government skepticism towards its operations.

Interaction with the respondents revealed that the introduction of repressive laws affected the operations of some CSOs especially those dealing with human rights and corruption issues. The study also revealed that with the passing of POSA and AIPPA laws in 2002 many organizations were forced into self-censorship and reviewing of their mandate to focus on less political issues such as the environment and HIV/AIDS political for fear of stepping on the toes of the powers that be. These laws continue to limit the space within which civil society operates forcing them to seek permission



before convening fora. According to a TI-Z official, independent media and a large list of its journalists operate under fear of harassment, arrest and jail sentences and this has caused their standards of reporting to drop.

Regardless, 87% of the participants comprising mostly female with a secondary level education believed that ZACC has not been key in fighting corruption thus far. This perception could be a result of the media reports that even commissioners within ZACC have been implicated in corruption scandals. The lack of powers to prosecute implicated persons also could give the citizenry the impression that ZACC is not contributing to anti-corruption. However, the researcher was of the impression that ZACC has not invested much in rebuilding trust with the citizenry and assuring them of its independence from the executive arm which is vital to its acceptance and recognition within the populace.

Out of the same participants 70% comprising mostly female with a secondary level education believed that the executive arm of government has expressed the political will to fight corruption while 26% comprising mostly male with a university level education thought that the executive has not expressed any political will to fight corruption and 4% of the respondents withheld their opinion on the matter. On probing further, the respondents explained that although the executive has expressed the verbally then intent to fight corruption, it has not practically done much to make corruption risky because it has been seen to protect corrupt officials. According the researcher the susceptibility of a

majority of persons to take part in corrupt ventures is greatly minimized when the government takes a firm stance of making an example of the top officials that are implicated in corruption by punishing them thus making corruption risky for all. The vice versa is true.

26% of the respondents mentioned that political parties have contributed greatly in the fight against corruption while 74% of respondents thought otherwise. Raising public awareness on the issues of prevention and fight against corruption is essential to the good functioning of democratic institutions yet political parties and parliaments are perceived as the most corrupt institutions (Council of Europe Rec. 2003 section 4). The opinions of the respondents represented by the percentages could be attributed to thinking by many citizens that its political parties are not free of corruption and can't be trusted to effectively provide checks and balances to the state while also delivering on their mandate which among other things includes civic education.

The 2015-2020 TI-Z Strategic plan states that:-

“we have witnessed the splintering and weakening of opposition political parties in recent years and especially after the 2013 elections. This has resulted in limited capacities for effective implementation of checks and balance initiatives against corruption.”

11% thought that ZRP has contributed greatly to fighting corruption, 85% comprising mostly female with a secondary level education felt that ZRP has contributed more to increasing corruption than to fighting it while 4% withheld their opinion. According to a

2016 survey Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa, motorists are forced by the Zimbabwe Republic Police to pay spot fines regardless of their innocence due to threats against them. It was revealed in the study that motorists pay spot fines to avoid having their drivers' licences and permits seized, to avoid inconveniences and being delayed, to prevent their vehicles from being impounded, and to prevent their vehicles from being surrendered to Vehicle Inspectorate Department (VID). Furthermore, some motorists have lost drivers' licences and permits when they were confiscated by the police after they failed to pay the spot fines needed. The bribe money demanded by the police is often less than the gazetted traffic fines and motorists prefer paying bribes since that will be a huge saving on their part. This according to the researcher may have informed the sentiments of the respondents' towards the police.

#### **4.3 TI-Z Anti-corruption Strategies**

“TI-Z is the Zimbabwe chapter of Transparency International (TI) dedicated and concerned citizens to fight corruption and its effects on the Zimbabwean society. TI-Z is part of the growing network of TI national chapters fighting corruption through networks of integrity within civil society, business, academia, and the government to curb corruption” (Key Informant Interview 1, (Mutare), on 8th February 2017)

Further Interviews and interactions with the TI-Z officials revealed that the organization delivers its mandate through four key programmatic areas namely: Advocacy and Legal Advise Centre (ALAC), Community Mobilization and Advocacy (CMA), Research and

Information, Policy legislation and Institutional reform. Delivery of these programs requires designing of workable strategies in consultation with membership, stakeholders and borrowing from past experience about what has worked on what hasn't worked.

Key Informant Interview 2 informed the research on the 9<sup>th</sup> February 2017 that the strategic options which have identified by TI-Z for implementation of the activities for the (2015 – 2020) period include building of synergies with stakeholders through strategic partnerships; building capacity of the media to report on corruption; widening of our funding base; incorporating ICT's in anti- corruption; increased engagement with state institutions and we are lobbying for the development of a national anti-corruption strategy. He further stressed that the organization planned to continue with the conduct of public awareness campaigns.

According to one male respondent aged (31-35) with university level education, public awareness campaigns have been at the core of TI-Z's strategy over the years and have been executed through various activities such as public dialogues and workshops, press conferences and statements, Anti-Corruption commemorations, and road shows.

During the focus group discussion in Sakubva, a female participant aged 35-40 with secondary level education commended the use of Road shows to directly engage

multitudes within their localities. In verbatim “Road shows speak to people that would not be easy to round up in a formal setting for public dialogue or seminar.”

Similarly, another female respondent with secondary level education aged 46+ spelt out that:

“some of us are too busy with businesses and never have time to attend meetings that these organizations call us for during business hours.”

According to TI-Z, the organisation also rides on partnerships with the media in different regions to disseminate information to the far to reach areas. Speaking to the TI-Z media partners in Mutare through an interview, they commented thus:

“Radio is undoubtedly the most popular medium of communication due to its affordability and being just a simple medium to use where you can be doing other things while listening to radio. We have delivered several outdoor broadcasts of behalf of TI-Z where we invite (the) ZRP, local council among others and create a platform for the people to ask questions about how things should be done.” (In-depth interview 1, Mutare on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

In terms of reach and coverage a Key informant 3 commented thus:-

“TI-Z has managed to make itself visible on the map with presence in Bulawayo Harare and Mutare .....of course they can’t cover the whole map on their own but they have at least created a basis on which the common man can say that they have benefitted from their efforts.” (Key informant 3 – Mutare on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

TI-Z through ALAC continues to provide *pro-bono* and low cost legal support for victims and witnesses of corruption. In the case of Mutare, team of around 6 lawyers have partnered with the ALAC department to assist in litigation for cases around corruption and Human Rights. In an Interview with the team leader, the researcher noted that litigation is a rigorous process that does not realize success overnight. It requires a lot of tact case building, strategies and counter strategies.

He further intimated that there is a general tendency of resistance to Public Interest Litigation in Zimbabwe where judges feel that if someone is aggrieved then why shouldn't that person come to court by himself?

Why should you come and seek an order that will benefit people who have not been affected? The courts have not accepted or assumed a position about being positive about it and they don't encourage it." (Key Informant 3, (Mutare), on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2017).

Generally speaking, civil society in Zimbabwe faces a wide array of constraints in delivery of their respective mandate. The researcher learned from interaction with one of the TI-Z officials that:

"One of the biggest challenges we face is the restrictive and suppressive POSA, AIPPA laws, NGO bill that limit the activities and freedom of certain CSOs (especially those that have been dubbed anti-government owing to the keen eye they keep on government activities so as to ensure socio-political-accountability. These laws make the working environment very difficult for TIZ. There is need for the realignment of laws with the constitution which involves repealing of POSA and AIPPA if programming for civil society is to become more efficient. The extent of our engagement with key corruption institutions

like ZACC is also inhibited by matters of legislation. ZACC can only fully deliver on its mandate after the president appoints the request key personnel to it. The extent of our engagement with ZACC will then be determined by the level of effectiveness of ZACC.” (Key Informant Interview 1, (Mutare), 8 February 2017)

The study also revealed that TI-Z has received more recognition for fighting petty corruption and criticism for not taking a firmer stance on grand corruption. However, in a politically polarized and suppressive environment like that of Zimbabwe (Ncube, 2010) - it is more likely that CSOs will be more vested in fighting bureaucratic corruption as opposed to political corruption.

The researcher gathered from the respondents that although TI-Z conducts research and surveys severally, the limiting of publication to English affects the reach of the publications. TI-Z creates more corruption aware citizens through research and information dissemination as well as documenting evidence for further engagement with local and international partners. The challenge is that most of these reports and edutainment material are still being circulated in English. The informant is quoted saying:-

“It will be very helpful if the reports are accessible in Shona, Ndebele and other languages then they will benefit the ordinary man and woman” (Key Informant Interview 1 (Mutare) 8<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

Through Community Mobilization and Advocacy (CMA), TI-Z is also engaging community organisations and mobilizers or ‘runners’ as foot soldiers equipping them

with necessary skills to allow them to effectively take part in the fight against corruption. CMA aims at providing ordinary citizens with tools in order for them to stand up for a corruption free Zimbabwe. With regard to the state and its institutions though, given the vitality of political will to anti-graft success, specific ministries are being engaged in the process.

In brief, this section lays out the strategies that TI-Z is using to curb corruption and participants opinions towards them. In the section 4.4 below, the study will delve into assessing the challenges of these strategies.

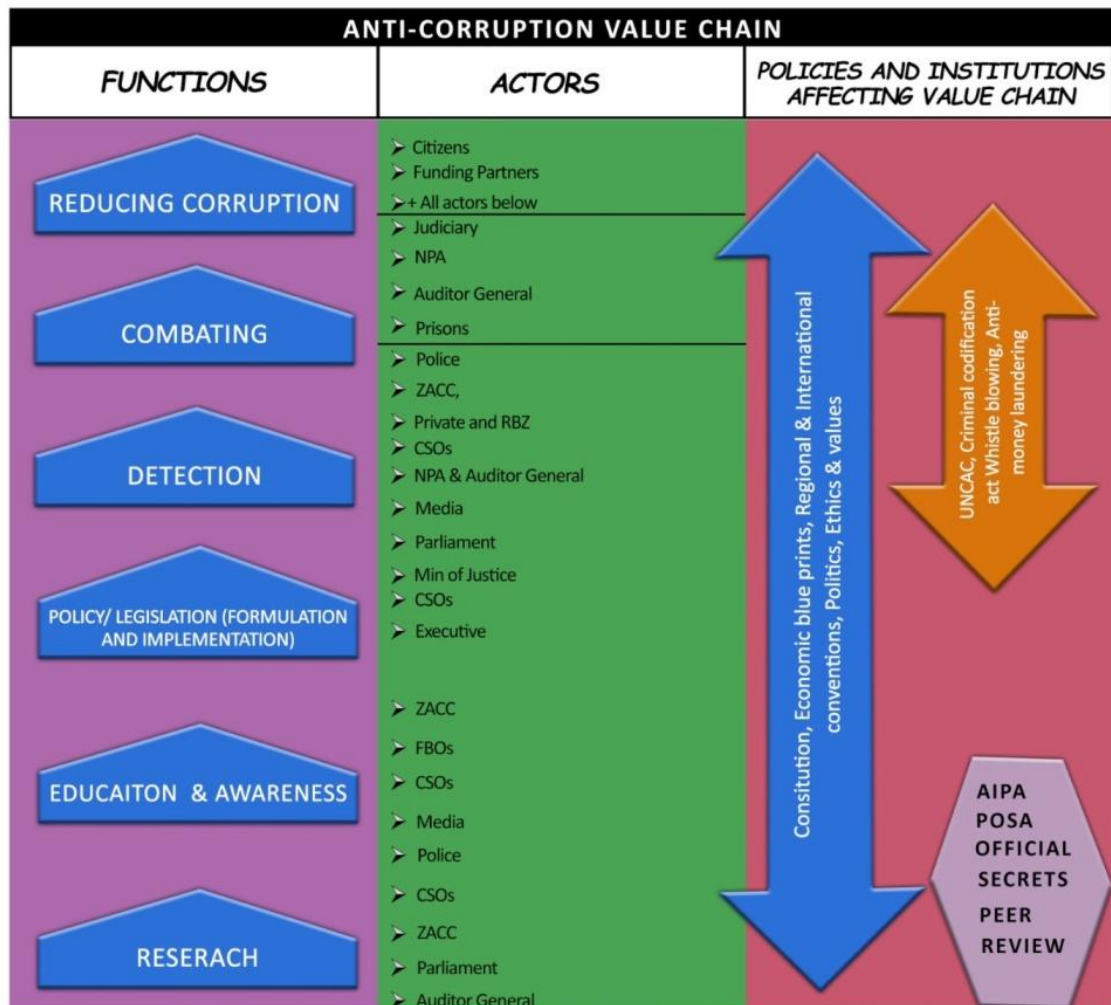
#### **4.4 Challenges faced by civil society engaged in anti-corruption**

This section reviews different existing literature, gathers the opinions of TI-Z beneficiaries and stakeholders both in the public and private sector to assess impact, record milestones and note hindrances. As such, the challenges facing civil society are being determined by reviewing the TI-Z reporting, speaking to TI-Z officials and beneficiaries then juxtaposing the findings from that with the opinions and reporting from outside sources like the public / private sector and other persons that have or have not had direct interaction with TI-Z engagements. The researcher used the case study of TI-Z Mutare to observe and assess impact of the national strategies being applied by TI-Z specifically public awareness, Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre (ALAC), training stakeholders at grassroots organizations.



In this regard, as learned from TI-Z, anti-corruption is a business of behavioral change over a period of time - a process and not an event where impact tracking is more of long-term venture. However, as posited by (Ncube, 2010) the effectiveness of Civil Society initiatives around the themes of human rights and anti-corruption is highly dependent on the environment created by the actors on the anti-corruption value chain.

**Figure 1 Anti-corruption Value Chain**



*Source: TI-Z 2015-2020 strategic plan*

The anti-corruption value chain not only comprises of actors that have a positive and negative effect on anti-corruption but also shows various policies like Public Order and Security Act (POSA), Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), secret acts that could undermine the effectiveness of TI-Z activities and strategy.

In discussing how the value chain affects strategy, the research revealed that TI-Z and other non-state actors have the greatest impact in reducing corruption but have limited power and control over it. It further revealed that, although state actors have control of the value chain, they have limited impact in the reduction of corruption. Therefore in order for TI-Z to maximize its impact and effectiveness it designs strategies sensitive to the unique dynamics of the actors.

This nature of strategic engagement with vital actors is important as it allows for the nurturing of long-term partnerships that stem from the building of a common understanding of the workings of the parties. Understanding and appreciating the unique contexts of different actors also builds respect, trust and coherence amongst stakeholders. Within Zimbabwe where the relationship between civil society and the state is built on mistrust (Moyo, 2014), an investment in strengthening of partnerships is priority if a unified front is to be presented.

The research learned that TI-Z has implemented several media campaigns in Manicaland which have according to respondent in In-depth Interview one, have reached an estimated 200,000 people within 40 degrees radius. He informed the research that these

media campaigns have been the form of Outside broadcasts and DJ mentions. However, this respondent further stated that due to limited resources, outside broadcasts have only been limited to urban and sub-urban areas. The researcher learned that talk shows and DJ mentions have been relied on to reach these hard to reach areas.

Empowerment of the common man on human rights regarding corruption is central to curbing corruption. In Zimbabwe as is in most African countries, initiatives by public, private sectors and civil society have been seen to focus on the urban and peri-urban settings ignoring the persons in rural areas that are most susceptible and prone to corruption due to low levels of education, ignorance about the systemic operations and their human rights. The TI-Z strategy should therefore consider investing more in real-time engagement with rural communities through such open air forums and not rely entirely on radio.

A university education level female respondent of age group 36-45 reiterated that anti-corruption should target the young generations just as it is targeting the old. TI-Zs 2015-2020 strategy is responsive to this thinking through providing for the Youth for Transparency and Integrity (YTI) club project which is making engaging school going children in programs geared at promoting social accountability, transparency and integrity.

According to a Human Rights activist that this research interacted with:

“.....these YTI clubs provide a platform for students to debate issues to do with corruption, anti-corruption, human rights, ethics, social responsibility, integrity among others.”

A TI-Z official informed the research that it for the YTI club engagements, it invites prominent individuals who have a proven track record in public and private sector to come and speak to these young people. He explained that these clubs are also encouraged to engage in public speaking, poetry, art as a way of expressing the impact of corruption on communities. The official said:

“We have 25 YTI clubs, 5 of which are in Manicaland with up to 30 members each.” (Key Informant 2, Harare, on 9<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

It is plausible that TI-Z is engaging both young and old in anti-corruption. Arming the right generation with tools of morality and integrity is a way of making the young aware of the possible solutions to the predicament facing the society they have been subjected to grow in and thus rejuvenating a sense of socio-economic and political accountability amongst the leaders of the future.

According to a secondary level education male participant of age group (31-35), TI-Z is creating a movement of foot soldiers for anti-corruption through the accountability monitoring Committees. (TI-Z, 2015) informs that there are 50 AMCs across the country and each group comprises of 4-5 members.

A female respondent of age group 40+ with secondary level education shared that she has gained significant knowledge on human rights, anti-corruption, designing and monitoring community projects geared towards curbing corruption from the workshops and seminars training them on practical ways to curb corruption within their constituencies.

Cognizant of the magnitude of anti-corruption work that needs to be done and the limited resources, replicating efforts to the masses to not only be ambassadors but also be able to do the anti-corruption work for themselves is a commendable effort.

In as far as legal services are concerned, a secondary level male participant of age group (31-35) informed the research that he had severally received free legal advice from TI-Z whenever he or his community members were having challenges with authorities. The research quotes him saying:

“.....we had a challenge of the medical centre in our area charging us fees for services that were supposed to be accessing for free. Only until we went to the TI-Z team to intervene did things begin to change” (Focus Group Discussion 1, Mutare CBD, 8<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

A female respondent of age group 30 and below also informed the research that she and her colleagues received legal aid from TI-Z when they were having challenges with the haphazard distribution of stalls in Sakubva.

According to TI-Z officials, over 1500 persons have been empowered to demand for socio- political accountability since ALACs inception. He further informed the research that the ALAC clinic has litigated cases and provided *pro-bono* legal aid and advice to victims and witnesses of corruption.

In the same regard, an official from the Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs) stated thus in an interview in reference to TI-Z strategy:

They are interested in lobbying and advocacy. They also operate a legal advice centre ....which also serves to promote the interests of the general populace besides our own business clients. They lobby on behalf of SMEs; they lobby on behalf of cooperatives and others that are not within our spectrum. Then generally our trading community may not be aware of what legal services they may need so as an institution that operates a legal advice centre, if an SME requires legal advice in cases where we feel that there is an issue to do with corruption then at times we normally refer to them. There is a situation where an SME is being deprived of a right and there is need for legal representation, at times we normally refer to their place because as government we have a central office that has to do with our legal affairs so they may not be able to assist the SMEs here on the ground so the coming in of TI-Z promotes access to legal services for our clientele. (Semi structured Interview 3, Mutare, on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

According to female respondent of age group (36-45) and university level education, community members in her area have also benefited from the mobile legal aid clinics that TI-Z deploys. (TI-Z, 2015) states that there are so many citizens that are in need of legal services but can afford to pay for them and the legal aid clinics come in to close

that service gap leveling the playing field for access to legal advisory by most. According to TI-Z, ALAC operates mobile legal aid clinics in various parts of the country providing pro-bono legal aid assistance and outreach.

According to the World Bank 2012 estimate, 72.3% of the 15 million population are below the poverty line. The majority of these people can't afford more than one meal a day let alone legal services. The strategy of free legal services ensures that a majority of the persons that are actually victims and witnesses of day to day corruption are provided with access to information about avenues through which to access justice. This assurance of protection and justice is a way of making corruption risky for those that engage in it.

For one male age group (36-45) with college education participant in a FGD, the distribution of toll free numbers for reporting corruption has been a way of making corruption risky. It has scared would be bribers because they are not sure of who they will be bribing.

Another male participant in the same FGD aged (31-34) with university level education stated that:

“.....what TIZ is doing is just a stepping stone for more organisations to come up and assist a stepping stone for more voices to come up against anti-corruption. They cannot do all of this work alone” Focus Group Discussion 1 Mutare CBD, 8<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

The feedback from respondents depicts that TI-Z has had a number of milestones towards delivering on its mandate. These responses towards the work of TI-Z by the different actors led the researcher to believe that TI-Z has invested itself in ensuring that the vital elements required in for a successful anti-corruption drive have been established. It is vested in realizing a citizen driven process through empowering citizens and providing legal backing. Its strategy targets even the youngsters through entrenching virtue among other things. However regardless of their efforts, the researcher noticed a need for more strategic partnerships with other like-minded actors in the field of anti-corruption.

Further to this, the researcher sought the opinions of participants about what should be done to increase further strengthen TI-Z in its fight against corruption and thus increase its effectiveness. They were asked – “what needs to be done to further strengthen TI-Z in its fight against corruption?” The researcher tabulated some of the responses given by some respondents in table seven below.

**Table 2 Opinions on what needs to be done to further strengthen TI-Z in its fight against corruption**

<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Opinion</b>
001	Awareness campaigns should be increased both in urban and rural areas because old people are paying beasts or goats for his or her grandchild to find a place in colleges/institutions of nursing/barracks. But the big fish’s children are enrolled without required qualifications.



033	Partnering with other organisations and also taking the subject to school curriculums. It should not be a taboo to talk about corruption
011	Increase grassroots engagements
016	The fight against corruption cannot be achieved by an individual – citizens must voluntarily join the movements. There is also need for a citizens based action plan
002	Increased political will from the government to fight corruption
023	Ensure prosecution of culprits
014	There should be continuous feedback to communities on matters that would have been reported

The tabulated responses only go to show that more resources need to be invested in rising of awareness and building capacity to curb corruption. The responses also show that prosecution is a key component of anti-corruption and the legal team needs to build strategy that ensures that the culprits are seen to be punished.

In view of strengthening the legal strategy of TI-Z, Key Informant 3's recommendation is cited thus:

There should be proper case building; proper packaging; proper identification of litigants that go to court ..... who really should go to court? It is more to do with broadening the quality of the product that they give. Obviously giving other lawyers the capacity to deal with those elements. Make sure that there is a big team of lawyers that they work with because when there is always the same lawyers appearing in court then the element of resistance that comes up. They ask why it that you are always

the one coming to court? Make sure lawyers they work with understand that public interest litigation is litigation that is different from ordinary litigation (Key Informant 3, Mutare, 15<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

However regarding increasing public awareness, the research discovered that there are issues hampering the effectiveness of TI-Z such as the legislative environment specifically POSA and AIPPA. Interviews with TI-Z and key informant 2 established that TI-Z has found it very difficult to convene public *fora* or even road shows.

“....You see we are expected to get accreditation from ZRP ahead of rolling out an anti-corruption campaign and they seem to have the discretion to say yes or no usually depending on the objectives and agenda for activities coupled with the political environment of that time. Actually it has been hard to work with the state or partner with them on many occasions because they view as partisan or having a dubious agenda” (Key Informant Interview 2, Mutare, 9<sup>th</sup> February 2017)

According to the TI-Z 2015-2020 strategic plan, TI-Z through its Research and Communication unit have generated research on human rights and corruption related issues sometimes in partnership with likeminded NGOs in a bid to facilitate evidenced based programming and engagement.

The view of a female respondent of age group 31-35 with university level education at a FGD was that, although TI-Z is involved in lot of research and releases so many surveys talk about the levels and perceptions of corruption in Zimbabwe, the reception of a message or content that is being relayed is dependent on the respect and regard that the

recipients have for the author and relayer of the message. According to a civil society practitioner that this research interacted with, the information from the TI-Z reports and surveys has been used to improve the quality of strategy and activities around not only anti-corruption but also human rights defense in general. The respondent in the In-depth interview one also stated that:-

“I find that the TI-Z strategy is cognizant of the corruption dynamics and mutating of corruption over time. And I think that this has been advised by the corruption research that they are invested in.”

A female respondent of age group 36-45 and with university education stated that, “some strategies just like ESAP failed to thrive in Africa because the implementers ignored the cultural realities on the ground and therefore engage in blanket importation of strategies. What works in one cultural setting may not necessarily work in another cultural setting.”

#### **4.5 Summary**

This chapter illuminated the dynamics influencing and affecting anti-corruption in Zimbabwe, it identified the strategies that TI-Z is using to fight graft and analyzed the effectiveness of those strategies. Key to note is that regardless of the hindrances to curbing of corruption, there is still a will among the citizenry to get rid of it. Resounding throughout the chapter is that anti-graft requires a merger of efforts and a multi-pronged strategy.

## **CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

“Corruption is more deadly than cancer. When a country accepts corruption to thrive, it will eat it to the marrow. Corruption eats up the moral fiber of that society in the same way cancer eats up a person – *Rev Fr Steve Collins, Lourdel House Nsambya Kampala*”

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the research paying attention to the key findings emerging from the research while also making recommendations that are drawn from the findings. It is the researchers hope that the findings, conclusions and the recommendations provided in this research will be invaluable to the field of anti-corruption.

### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

This study sought an understanding of the dynamics surrounding the civil society anti-corruption efforts, unraveled the strategies used by civil society in fighting graft in view of assessing the challenges faced by civil society in fighting graft. Trillions of dollars have been reported to be lost to corruption a process that has been fueled by impunity, weak institutions and the deaf ear the executive has paid to the vice. The cost of this has been the increase in the cost of production, increased cost of access to basic social services and human needs, increased inflation and increased abuse of human rights. For Zimbabwe, although the government has hinted a few times on its will to fight

corruption though institution of commission, it hasn't taken the stories to arm the corruption guillotine machine with the necessary arsenal required for it to do its work.

The findings showed that despite the effects that corruption is having on Zimbabwe, the government is not being seen to take an active role in corruption control. Civil society with the lead of TI-Z has there for stepped in to play its watchdog role while doing some of the work that government is supposed to be doing.

High levels of corruption prevail despite the presence of the ZACC and establishments of various Anti-Corruption institutions within different ministries. The establishment of Anti-Corruption structures has proven to be a failure because their strategies focus on dealing with symptoms rather than causes.

The research showed that even as civil society has stepped in to close the gap that has been caused by reluctance of other stakeholders to participate, they have been faced by several challenges such as limited financial resources and a restrictive legal environment.

Furthermore the research revealed citizens apathy in matters concerning corruption and corruption control. Although they are faced with several challenges as they try to access basic needs and services especially if they can't afford the bribing fee, they have still

chosen to stay clear of matters like corruption that are seemingly too political. The arrests, police brutality that followed the citizens' movements like #flag and #tjamuka that rose to demand for socio-political accountability is a clear indication of what citizens are afraid of.

The gap between the rich and the poor continues to increase as the few politically powerful continue to amerce resources and wealth at the expense of the political weaklings. Unfortunately, the institutions that are supposed to provide a sense of security to the citizenry through defense of the vulnerable against the unjust actions are also caught up in the web of corruption. The police has been accused of bribery and victimizing the witnesses and victims of corruption; courts have been accuse of letting suspects go scot free, the executive has been accused of protecting culprits and being part of scandals.

With the ruling government hijacking the formal bureaucratic structures such as Parliament, Judiciary, ZRP and civil service, it has continued to interfere with the powers and functions of these structures purely for party, individual and private gains. The Parliament has not taken action in situations where there is clear evidence of acts of corruption. The state's efforts in combating corruption have been very minimal due to interference in various programmes by senior government officials who have been involved in corrupt practices

The study also showed that through TI-Z, citizens are becoming aware of their rights with respect to corruption and some are becoming proactive. A few government ministries are recognizing that a partnership with civil society is more beneficial and complementary than adversarial while others are rigid with the belief that civil society practitioners and activists are a batch of people seeking to appease their western donors.

While Zimbabwe is a signatory to both regional and international Anti-Corruption conventions and protocols, it still remains without a clear whistle blowing policy. The lack of laws protecting whistle blowers is one area of concern with those involved in Zimbabwe's Anti-Corruption initiatives. Protecting whistle blowers, notably employees, the public and CSOs such as the independent media, is an essential step towards combating corruption in Zimbabwe.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

Zimbabwe's economic and political environment has allowed corruption to permeate all levels of society making it a daily routine and in the process become an accepted means of conducting everyday business.

Corruption in Zimbabwe has continued to rise due to the autocratic type of government that has limited the freedoms of expression, access to information, demonstration amongst other freedoms. The use of police brutality to clamp down seemingly

opposition voices has sent a wave of fear amongst the populace who have now chosen “security” over demand for socio political accountability. The quality of media reporting which has been a result of intimidation n arrest of journalists has also limited the sharing of information regarding issues to do with corruption and violation of human rights which has significantly affected the levels of citizens’ participant.

The weak internal structures within political parties especially the opposition has also seen the weakening of the checks and balances thus resources the demand for public accountability and mobilization of citizenry to demand for public accountability. The unfavorable legislative framework has limited the effectiveness of civil society and not created a favorable environment for citizens’ participation.

For Zimbabwe as has become evident in many countries across the globe, corruption control is a process whose success can only be achieved through garnered efforts by all stakeholders especially where there is political will, separation of powers and empowered institutions.

#### **5.4 Implications**

Corruption is an impediment to the enjoyment of several rights that are enshrined in the national and internal legislation. Borrowing from Odeboye (2001), this research emphasizes that if an economy does not clump down corruption then corruption will



suffocate that economy and its peoples. State legitimacy is affected by corruption leading to the distortion of development planning and implantation of policies.

### **5.5 Suggestions for further research**

The researcher recommends further research around the semblance political party democracy and its contribution to strengthening of national systems of accountability for Zimbabwe.

### **5.6 Recommendations**

Zimbabwe has received numerous recommendations on how to tackle corruption; the problem however has been the lack of commitment towards exploring the many options that have been provided. The study has identified and discussed a number of gaps and imperatives and made the following recommendations:

#### **To Government:-**

- There needs to be continued government commitment towards strengthening stakeholder relations with non-state actors. The aim of this is to eliminate the perceived veil of secrecy by creating a culture of trust and openness. There should be a clear understanding of the roles and responsibilities of various actors in the anti-corruption

drive. Anti-corruption efforts should not be carried out in isolation, secrecy or in a manner that affects the attainment of the end goal.

- **Protection of whistle blowers:** - The Prevention of corruption act and Anti-corruption commission act scantily provide for the protection of those who provide information on corruption. However the provisions have not been operationalised. As such, there is a need to promulgate and implement laws (e.g. Right to Information, Whistleblower Protection) that ensure a political and administrative commitment towards strengthening and enhancing transparency and accountability systems in public service.
- **Legislative Reform:** -The unfavorable laws such as AIPPA and POSA have got to be repealed. POSA stipulates that public meetings or demonstrations require police permission; it also allows for arbitrary curfews and forbids criticism of the president (Freedom House, 2015). POSA and other laws restrict civil society organizations and allow for systemic harassment (BTI, 2016). The NGO Amendment bill should also be reviewed as it will lead to self-censorship amongst NGO's that wish to remain operational hence affecting their devotion towards corruption control.

**To TIZ:-**

- **Make corruption risky for all:** - Any serious fight against corruption must also target grand corruption and senior officials in both public and private sector in order to make

impact. It is important that TI-Z designs a strategy around fighting grand corruption as a way of making corruption risky for all persons.

- The role of civil society organizations in fighting corruption should be steadily sustained by means of dedicated efforts to improve the standing and performance of organized forms of civic activism. This directly calls for sustained momentum in raising awareness and capacity building which will increase citizens' vigilance and sensitivity towards corrupt activities
- **Incorporation of ICTs:** -Anti-corruption players should consider exploiting the opportunities that Information and Communication Technologies present to fighting, reporting and monitoring corruption especially Geographical Information Systems (GIS).
- **Explore Strategic Partnerships:** Anti-corruption synergies have got to be synchronized both in public and private sector in order to avoid duplication of efforts as well as presenting a united front towards the fight of corruption which is now common enemy. TI-Z also invest in finding venues to build a relationship with ZACC which would go long way in strengthening the national anti-corruption framework
- Strengthen partnerships with the media as this is important partner for optimizing the results. Although political pressure on journalists, and especially on media editorial

staff, still persists - the media and particularly investigative journalists remain strategic allies for civil society working on anti-corruption initiatives. The media is an integrity pillar. Freedom and integrity of the media should be protected and reserved so it can investigate report and expose corruption without undermining the credibility of anti-corruption efforts.

- As an organization providing leadership for anti-corruption initiatives amongst non-state actors, TI-Z should implement measures to build capacity of civil society organizations at national and local levels. It should focus on implementing and expanding anti-corruption awareness campaigns to involve grassroots segments of the population.
- **Translation of edutainment material to local languages and easy to read versions.**  
Great majority of Zimbabweans are not well versed with English. TI-Z needs to first of all simplify the publications it releases into simplified summarized leaflets and into the different local languages so as to ensure that all the citizenry is able to receive the message and understand it too.

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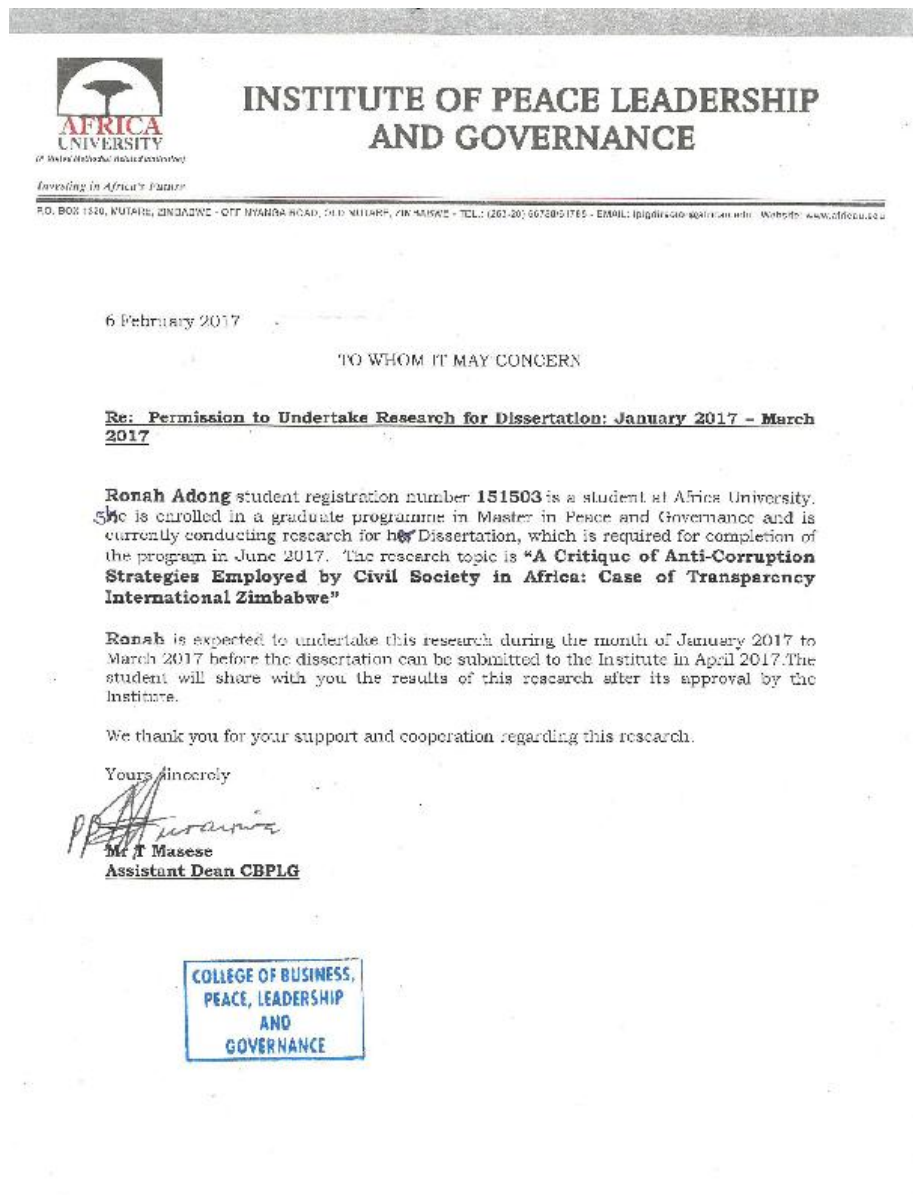
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## List of Appendices

### Appendix 1 Permission to undertake Research from IPLG



## Appendix 2 Authorisation to undertake Research by the Ethics Committee



**AFRICA UNIVERSITY**  
*A United Methodist-African Institution*

### AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

INVESTING IN AFRICA'S FUTURE

P.O. BOX 1321, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE • OFF NYANSA ROAD, OLD MUTARE • TEL: (+263-20) 50075/6/1026/51311 • E-MAIL: aurec@africau.edu • WEBSITE: www.africau.edu

Ref: AU013/17

February 06, 2017

Rorah Adong  
College of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance  
Africa University  
Mutare

**RE: A critique of anti-corruption strategies employed by civil society in Africa: Case of transparency international- Zimbabwe.**

Thank you for the above titled proposal that you submitted to the Africa University Research Ethics Committee for review. Please be advised that AUREC has reviewed and **approved** your application to conduct the above research.

The approval is based on the following.


- a) Research proposal
- b) Questionnaires
- c) Informed consent form

- **APPROVAL NUMBER** AU013/17  
This number should be used on all correspondences, consent forms, and appropriate documents.
- **AUREC MEETING DATE** NA
- **APPROVAL DATE** February 06, 2017
- **EXPIRATION DATE** February 05, 2018
- **TYPE OF MEETING** Expedited

After the expiration date this research may only continue upon renewal. For purposes of renewal, a progress report on a standard AUREC form should be submitted a month before expiration date.

- **SERIOUS ADVERSE EVENTS** All serious problems having to do with subject safety must be reported to AUREC within 3 working days on standard AUREC form.
- **MODIFICATIONS** Prior AUREC approval is required before implementing any changes in the proposal (including changes in the consent documents)
- **TERMINATION OF STUDY** Upon termination of the study a report has to be submitted to AUREC using standard form obtained from AUREC.

Yours Faithfully



MITI G.P. AUREC Administrator  
FOR CHAIRPERSON, AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

AFRICA UNIVERSITY  
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

07 FEB 2017

APPROVED  
P.O. BOX 1321, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE



### Appendix 3 Request for Interview



#### INSTITUTE OF PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

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...../Feb /2017

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Dear Sir/Madam,

**REF: REQUEST TO CONDUCT INTERVIEW**

My name is Ronah Adong, a Masters student at Africa University pursuing Peace and Governance.

I am currently conducting a research on '*Anti-corruption strategies employed by Civil Society: Case of Transparency International Zimbabwe*'. In this regard, I request for a 30 – 45 minutes in-depth interview with you on the subject. Attached to this request is an introductory letter from my University.

In case of any inquiries, please contact me through ..... Your support will be greatly appreciated.

Yours Faithfully

Ronah ADONG

#### Appendix 4 Consent Form

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Thank you for granting me the opportunity to engage with you today. My name is Ronah Adong, a Masters student at Africa University studying Peace and Governance. I approach you with regard to a research I am conducting which seeks to *critique the Civil Society Anti-Corruption Strategies in Africa using a case study of Transparency International Zimbabwe*.

This research is for academic purposes only. Your participation is voluntary and thus you may choose not to participate. However, the information you give me will be highly valued and contribute to the strengthening anti-corruption strategy far and wide. You are not coerced to disclose your name or any information that you are not comfortable sharing. You are free to ask questions or seek clarification at any point. Answering this questionnaire will take about 20 – 30mins of your time.

☐

Please tick this box if verbal consent is obtained

Please sign below

\_\_\_\_\_

Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 5 Interview questions for Key Informants

### **Section A: Organizational Mandate**

1. What is the mandate of TI-Z? (Do your specific objectives differ from those of TI?)
2. How would you describe the orientation of the activities of TI-Z?
  - a) Proactive ☐
  - b) Reactive ☐
  - c) Both Proactive and Reactive ☐
3. What is the scope of the activities of your organization?
  - a) Research ☐
  - b) Training ☐
  - c) Investigation ☐
  - d) Prosecution ☐
  - e) Advocacy ☐
  - f) Others – Please Specify -----  
-----
4. How would you describe the level of effectiveness of the organization in each of the identified activity areas?

Activity	Very High	High	Fair	Low	Very Low
Research					
Training					
Investigation					
Prosecution					
Advocacy					
Others					

### **Section B: Strategy**

5. Oyeboode (2001) asserts that if Africa fails to stop corruption then corruption will stop Africa. Do you view corruption as an endemic problem for Zimbabwe?
6. What is the root cause of corruption in Zimbabwe and what institutions do you view as most corrupt in Zimbabwe?
7. What strategies has your organization employed to fight corruption and influence policy?
8. What is the place of the common man in your strategy development and implementation?
9. What have been the successes and failures of these strategies?
10. Anti-corruption strategy has been said to fail because of blanket importation and application of strategy. Does TI-Z tailor its strategy to Zimbabwe or does TI have a general strategy that it applies to all African countries?

11. Do you engage the state on Anti-Corruption? (If Yes) What means and channels are available to you in engaging with the state on anti-corruption?
12. How do the activities of the following institutions relate to those of your organization e.g. do they complement, overlap, conflict? Ministries, ZACC, Police (and other relevant institutions).
13. What strategies does TI-Z have in place to strengthen ZACC for it to effectively deliver on its mandate?
14. How have your strategies taken advantage of the technological advancement and reach to fight corruption?
15. Many CS initiatives have failed to realize their mandate due to replication of efforts by like-minded actors within the arena. Is this a threat to the TI-Z Mandate? How is TI-Z guarding against the negative effects of this?

### **Section C: Contextualizing Corruption and Anti-Corruption**

16. How do you assess the National Integrity System of Zimbabwe? What effect has it had on corruption and corruption control?
17. Corruption has been said to be dynamic and mutates over time, how do you tailor your strategy in line with this?
18. The theory of 2 republics by Peter Ekeh together with the Functionalists and relativists suggests that some level of corruption is a boost to socio-economic development in societies while the moralists believe that the cancer of corruption must be eradicated. What view point influences TI-Z mandate and Strategy?
19. Zimbabwe has recently had a rise in citizens' social movements. How do these fit within the TI framework? Does TIZ see this as the potential savior for Zimbabwe?

### **Section D: Impact and Effectiveness**

20. How do you assess the impact of your contribution to corruption control and how many direct beneficiaries does TI-Z have?
21. What influence does TI-Z have on Anti-Corruption Initiatives in Zimbabwe and is it considered to be a necessary partner in policy formulation and implementation?
22. How credible is your reporting on issues of corruption?
23. Is TI-Z entirely dependent on donor funding? How does this influence your mandate and prioritization?

### **Section E: Challenges and opportunities**

24. What have been the barriers and major challenges in policy engagement and combating corruption?
25. Where political space is limited, what strategies are employed to improve impact?
26. What needs to be done to increase the ability of TI-Z to effectively deliver its mandate?
27. Are there any case study best practices you could recommend to Zimbabwe as it strives at corruption control?
28. What opportunity does the technological era present to TI-Z?

## Appendix 6 Guide for In-depth Interviews

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### **Section A: Institutional Mandate**

1. What is the mandate of your institution?
2. How does your mandate fit within the anti-corruption agenda?
3. What is the scope of the activities of your institution?
  - g) Research
  - h) Training
  - i) Investigation
  - j) Prosecution
  - k) Advocacy
  - l) Others – Please Specify -----  
-----
4. How would you describe the orientation of the activities of your institution?
  - d) Proactive
  - e) Reactive
  - f) Both Proactive and Reactive
5. How would you describe the level of effectiveness of the organization in each of the identified activity areas?

Activity	Very High	High	Fair	Low	Very Low
Research					
Training					
Investigation					
Prosecution					
Advocacy					
Others					
6. What is the nature of your engagement with TI-Z?

### **Section B: Anti-Corruption Efforts**

7. Oyeboode (2001) asserts that if Africa fails to stop corruption then corruption will stop Africa. Do you view corruption as an endemic problem for Zimbabwe?
8. What is the root cause of corruption in Zimbabwe and what institutions do you view as most corrupt in Zimbabwe?
9. What strategies has your institution employed to fight corruption and influence policy?
10. What have been the successes and failures of these strategies?
11. What have been the barriers and major challenges in policy engagement and combating corruption?
12. How do the activities of the following institutions relate to those of your organization e.g. do they complement, overlap, conflict? ZACC, Police (and other relevant institutions).

13. What strategies do you have in place to empower ZACC in effectively delivering on its mandate?
14. Does CS have a place and role to play in anti-corruption in Zimbabwe

### **Section C: Contextualizing Corruption and Anti-Corruption**

15. How do you assess the National Integrity System of Zimbabwe? What effect has it had on corruption and corruption control especially in relation to TI-Z?
16. Corruption has been said to be dynamic and mutates over time. Do you think that TI-Z strategy has been cognizant of this?
17. The theory of 2 republics by Peter Ekeh together with the Functionalists and relativists suggests that some level of corruption is a boost to socio-economic development in societies while the moralists believe that the cancer of corruption must be eradicated. What view point should work best for Zimbabwe given its unique history?
18. Zimbabwe has recently had a rise in citizens' social movements which have realized a lot of success in other countries. Is this an opportunity for a more effective anti-corruption outfit for Zimbabwe?

### **Section D: Impact and Effectiveness of TI-Z**

19. How do you assess the impact of TI-Z contribution to corruption control?
20. What influence does TI-Z have on Anti-Corruption Initiatives in Zimbabwe and is it considered to be a necessary partner in policy formulation and implementation?
21. How credible is TI-Z reporting on issues of corruption?
22. Is the common man benefiting from the efforts of TI-Z?

### **Section E: Challenges and Opportunities**

23. What barriers and major challenges does TI-Z have in policy engagement and combating corruption?
24. Where political space is limited, what strategies should TI-Z employ to improve impact?
25. What needs to be done to strengthen TI-Z to deliver on its mandate?
26. What needs to be done to end corruption?
27. Are there any case study best practices you could recommend to TI-Z as it strives at corruption control?
28. What Opportunity does the technological era present to TI-Z?

***NB:*** Please provide any additional evidence and information that will enable an objective appraisal of the strengths, weaknesses and needs of your organization towards enhanced performance. These could include but are not limited to:-

- List of achievements
  - List of constraints
  - Priority capacity building requirements
- Where appropriate please provide documentary evidence in support of these responses.

## **Appendix 7 Guide for Focus Group Discussions**

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1. Do you view corruption as a devastating problem for Zimbabwe?
2. How has corruption affected your lives (routine, practice, and livelihood etc?)
3. What is the root cause of corruption in Zimbabwe?
4. Who is to blame for the continued increase in corruption?
5. What is your role as a citizen in this fight against corruption?
6. What achievements does TI-Z have in its work against corruption?
7. Which TI-Z programs do you view as most important and successful in contributing to the fight against corruption? (List in order of most important to least important)
8. What challenges has TI-Z faced in doing its work?
9. What needs to be done to increase the ability of TI-Z to effectively fight corruption?
10. As an individual, what do you think should be done to end corruption in Zimbabwe?

*Thank you for taking the time*